

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

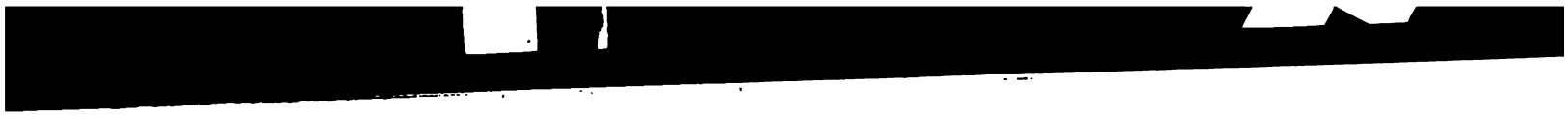
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`





HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY





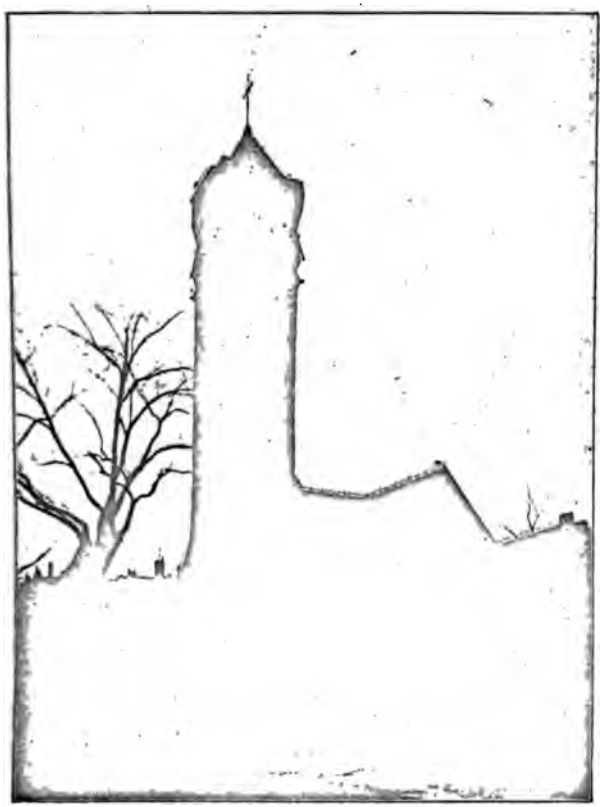
Bind Flat

THE HISTORY OF THE

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF BOSTON

2359
83





PRESENT MEETING-HOUSE
Commonwealth Avenue. 1882.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

OF

BOSTON

(1665–1899)

BY

NATHAN E. WOOD

Its Minister

PHILADELPHIA

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY

1899

10347.75
H.S. 1318.9.36.25
36.25
HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
APR 24 1908
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
The Author

Copyright 1899 by
NATHAN E. WOOD

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
MAR 1 9 1980

From the Press of the
American Baptist Publication Society

FORESTATEMENT

No extended history of the First Baptist Church of Boston has before been written. A few historical discourses have been printed and preserved, but in the nature of the case, their sources of information have been meagre, and their value has not been very great. The two discourses delivered by Rev. J. M. Winchell, in 1816, have the merit of a reasonable degree of accuracy, but their limits as history are narrow. It is surprising that a complete narration has not before been undertaken. The church has made a history unsurpassed in interest by any other Baptist church in the new world. Its metropolitan position and its antiquity have made it a conspicuous and an efficient actor in many of the most stirring scenes, not only in colonial, but in our whole American life. For many years it resisted alone the whole despotic power of New England Puritanism, and insisted upon the right to live and to enjoy freedom under a British flag and in a British colony. Its story of sufferings has not before been told so fully as in this volume; nor has the account of its final victory and its long-continued usefulness had careful narration hitherto. Its identification with the struggle for religious liberty is a proud title to a place in the annals of our country. Its history abundantly attests the providential care of God, and gives illustrious proof that the truth of God

will prevail. Long proscribed and ostracised and persecuted, it has at length come to sit down with honor even in the gates of its sometime enemies. Its vicissitudes since 1665, when it was founded, have been many, but its light has never for a moment gone out.

It is the only Baptist church in America whose records of the seventeenth century have been preserved. The First Baptist Church in Providence, founded in 1639, has no records preserved previous to 1775. The First Baptist Church in Newport, founded prior to 1644, has no records preserved previous to 1725. The First Baptist Church in Swansea, founded in 1663, has no records preserved previous to 1718. These are the only Baptist churches whose founding antedates the First Church in Boston, which has its records preserved from its founding in 1665 until the present time. It has also much collateral material in its archives. It has the records of its pew proprietors and of its standing committee since 1771. It has the records of its Sunday-school since 1816.

Every known source of information has been used to throw light on our early history. The author was especially fortunate in discovering a mass of original material (although unclassified) in the vaults of the Old Middlesex Court House, which give vivid exhibition of the time of persecution, and make live over again before us the sufferings, the endurance, and the faith of many almost forgotten Christian souls. The history of the struggle for religious liberty in the new world cannot be written nor understood without a knowledge of this church. It pioneered and blazed

the way for that priceless privilege. It has been blessed with men and women who have been notable leaders in every good cause. It is a monument of a divinely guided past, and remains to-day a spiritually living organization with a wide and consecrated influence for good in the kingdom of God.

NATHAN E. WOOD.

STUDY, FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH,
Boston, May, 1899.

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I

PREPARATIONS. FORERUNNERS 1

CHAPTER II

HENRY DUNSTER AND THOMAS GOOLD 23

CHAPTER III

DISCIPLINE OF THOMAS GOOLD 37

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH. CONFESSION OF FAITH . . 53

CHAPTER V

DISSENT. DISPUTATION. WORSHIP. REMOVAL 73

CHAPTER VI

PERSECUTIONS. THE RUSSELLS 97

CHAPTER VII

DEATHS OF GOOLD AND RUSSELL. NEW MEETING-HOUSE . . 119

CHAPTER VIII

JOHN RUSSELL'S NARRATIVE 145

CHAPTER IX

CHURCH AT KITTERY. KING'S CHAPEL. ELISHA CALLENDER . 175

CHAPTER X

PROSPERITY. PLANTING OF NEW INTERESTS. SINGING . . 199

CHAPTER XI

MR. CONDY. WHITFIELD REVIVAL. SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH. SAMUEL STILLMAN. BROWN UNIVERSITY. WARREN ASSOCIATION 231

PAGE.

CHAPTER XII

New Meeting-house. The Revolution. Education Society 259

CHAPTER XIII

Missionary Organizations. Great Revival. Clay. Winchell. Wayland. Mass. State Convention. Newton Theological Institution 287

CHAPTER XIV

New Meeting-house. Hague. Neale. Great Revival. Somerset Street. Union with Shawmut Avenue. Commonwealth Avenue Meeting-house. Crane. Moxom. Wood. 323

CHAPTER XV

The Sunday-school 351

CHAPTER XVI

Miscellaneous. Pastors. Deacons. Bequests 365

CHAPTER I

Preparations. Forerunners.

THE founders of the colony of Massachusetts I
purposed to plant on these shores of the new worl
theocracy which should be subject to such modifi
tions only as their loyalty to the British soverei
compelled. Evidently they desired the smallest p
sible amount of constraint put upon them by ro
authority. The Hebrew theocracy seems to h
been pre-eminently in their minds the model for th
own newly organized society. The exactions of
Mosaic statutes seemed to them to furnish a clea
guarantee of security and strength in the State th
did the freedom of the Gospels. The Church and
State were to be a happy unity in which each int
penetrated the other, and the earthly boundaries
which should be conterminous. The first Puritan s
tlers had been gathered on the general principle
similarity of political and theological views, and
the earliest days of the colony it was not difficu
through the willing conformity of its members,
preserve an outward unity. There were few, and p
sibly no, dissentients from their scheme of a uni
Church and State.

The mother country through many years had be
in such a state of ferment, that in spite of persecuti
or perhaps because of persecution, men of every sha
of theological opinion abounded within her borde
When, therefore, adventurous colonists from Old E

land began to multiply in New England, the good ships which brought them brought also their dissentient theologies. Many who had experienced the tyranny of the Established Church in the old home, grew restive under the restrictions of an established church, though of the Puritan order, in the new home. They seemed to have expatriated themselves in vain, for they had only exchanged the tyranny of one establishment for that of another. The Puritans were themselves dissenters. It would have been strange, indeed, if there had not also been dissenters from the Puritans. Moreover, the novel conditions of the new world, with the freedom of its wide wildernesses and the escape from many of the restraints of an old and ordered society, were sure to furnish the fertile seed plots of independent thought and action. It was a strangely futile dream in which our Puritan forefathers walked, when they fancied that they could shut out the spirit of dissent from the colony of Massachusetts Bay, when that spirit had always been one of the most imperious and marked inheritances of men of English blood. Nowhere were the conditions more favorable for its development.

Boston was settled and named sometime in the summer of 1630. In about six months thereafter (Feb., 1631) the good ship Lion, heavily laden with provisions, arrived off Nantasket. It had been a time of want, almost of famine, and the day appointed for humiliation and prayer was turned into rejoicing and thanksgiving by this timely relief. But on board this ship was a passenger who was to prove almost as troublesome to the new colony as famine. Mr. Roger

Williams, whom Governor Winthrop at that time called "a godly minister," was with his newly married wife among the passengers. He was a man who could not be bent to the will of the ecclesiastical oligarchy which had already assumed authority in matters both spiritual and political. Dissent had come early to the new world and had come to stay. He was at first welcomed eagerly and was "unanimously chosen teacher at Boston" of the church.[1] He refused the invitation, declaring that "the civil magistrates had no right to punish any breach of the first four tables or commandments of the Decalogue." This was the entering wedge between Church and State.

He was soon called to Salem and accepted the office of teacher in that church, in spite of earnest protests from the Boston magistrates against it, on the ground of his divisive teaching. The little frame church in which he preached may still be seen in Salem. It has been carefully preserved, and is one of the many American shrines to which the pilgrims who love liberty resort. Its simplicity and diminutiveness are pathetic illustrations of the "day of small things." His views soon became the source of boundless trouble to the colonial Court and church, and they did not cease threat, expostulation, and agitation until they had driven him from his place. In August, 1631, he went to Plymouth, where he became assistant to the pastor for about two years. There he found a generous tolerance. But the Salem Church, which seemed to be sincerely attached to him, en-

[1] Palfrey, "History of New England," Vol. I., p. 406. Note.

treated him to return to them, which he did, and they retained him until 1635, when he was again and finally banished from the colony because of his "erroneous and very dangerous opinions." He fled in the dead of winter to Plymouth and thence to Narragansett Bay, where he founded the town which he called Providence.

In this new settlement there was to be complete religious toleration, both in teaching and in worship. He became a Baptist, and with eleven others founded the First Baptist Church in Providence, in March, 1639. His "Anabaptist views" were already well known in Salem, and the news of his actual immersion in Providence, together with his establishment of a new church, made no small stir both in Salem and in Boston, where he had many sympathizers and adherents.

The conditions were now ripe for the development of a Baptist schism. To meet this incipient dissent, and to deter any others from following in his steps, the General Court had already on March 3, 1636, ordered,

> That all persons are to take notice that this Court doth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such companies of men as shall henceforth join in any pretended way of church fellowship, without they shall first acquaint the magistrates and the elders of the greater part of the churches in this jurisdiction with their intentions, and have their approbation therein. And further it is ordered, that no person being a member of any such church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the magistrates and the greater part of said churches, shall be admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth.[1]

[1] "Mass. Records."

Enforcement of this law was almost immediately required. It was only three months after its promulgation that the "constable of Salem" was ordered to break up unauthorized assemblies of dissenters in the town where Mr. Roger Williams had so lately been the minister, and where the seeds of dissent which he had sown broadcast were already producing harvests.

In 1638 Mr. Hansard Knollys came from London to Boston, but was refused permission to remain in the colony because of his "views of Anabaptisme." He was probably not at that time an avowed Baptist, although he held Baptist views. He fled to Piscataqua (since called Dover) in New Hampshire, and there gathered a dissenting congregation, to which he ministered until 1641, when he returned to England. He became an eminent Baptist pastor in London, where he spent the remainder of his useful life. It is not certainly known whether he became an acknowledged Baptist in Piscataqua, or whether it was after his return to London. It is known, however, that he preached the doctrines of Baptists in New Hampshire, and created there a new center of dissent and alarm to the authorities.

In 1637 Mr. John Clarke, "a man of education and of property," arrived in Boston. He was a physician and at once began the practice of his profession. He soon became disgusted with the intolerant spirit manifested in the colony, and being an intense lover of liberty, decided to go elsewhere and found a colony on principles of broad toleration. He went first to New Hampshire with some friends of like spirit with himself, but finding the climate too rigorous for his

health finally went to Providence. Under the encouragement of Mr. Roger Williams he decided to settle in Rhode Island, and in May, 1639, founded Newport. Sometime between 1639 and 1644 he organized a Baptist church in Newport, over which he presided as its distinguished minister until his death in 1676.[1] "This year (1639) William Wickenden, a Baptist preacher, moves from Salem to Providence."[2] He had been a disseminator of Baptist doctrine in the region around Salem, and had undoubtedly received his initial impulse toward Baptists from Mr. Roger Williams. In 1642,

> The Lady Moody, a wise and amiable religious woman, being taken with the error of denying baptism to infants, was dealt withal by many of the elders and others, and admonished by the church at Salem (whereof she was), but persisting still, and to avoid further trouble, she removed to the Dutch, against the advice of her friends. Many others infested with Anabaptisme, etc., removed thither also. She was after excommunicated.[3]

All those who removed to New York had doubtless been influenced toward their Baptist views by the teaching and example of Mr. Williams. In 1644 Thomas Painter, of Hingham, became a Baptist, and "having a child born would not suffer his wife to carry it to be baptized. He was complained of for this to the Court, and enjoined by them to suffer his child to be baptized." He refused to obey the order, and told the Court that "it was an antichristian ordinance," where-

[1] The first preserved records of the Newport Church do not begin until 1725, but it is known to have been formed before 1644.
[2] Felt, "Annals of Salem," Vol. II., p. 577.
[3] Winthrop's "Journal," Vol. II., p. 72.

upon they tied him up and whipped him, "which he bore without flinching and declared he had divine help to support him," etc.[1] He was probably the first one of those who, on account of Baptist beliefs, suffered a public whipping in Massachusetts by order of the authorities. He removed afterward to Newport and united with the Baptist church there. His name is fifteenth on their list In February, 1644, William Witter, of Swampscott (then a part of Lynn), a neighbor of the Lady Moody, was arraigned before the Salem Court "for entertaining that the baptism of infants was sinful." He was found guilty and sentenced "to make pubiic acknowledgment of his fault." This he would not do, and hence we find him before the Court in Salem again in 1645, "presented by the grand jury for saying that they who staid whilst a child is baptized do worship the devil."[2] Later he was cited to appear before the General Court in Boston "to be proceeded with according to the merit of his offense." All these proceedings had no deterrent effect on this obstinate Baptist, nor the fact that at the same court John Wood was arraigned "for professing Anabaptist sentiments and withholding his children from baptism," and John Spur was bound over for similar reasons to pay a fine of twenty pounds. "The heresie of Anabaptisme" had evidently become widespread around Salem. In 1648 Edward Starbuck gave much trouble to the authorities in Dover, New Hampshire, because of "his profession of Anabaptistry."[3] Those who had been punished for heresy

[1] "Mass. Records." [2] "Mass. Colonial Records," Vol. III., pp. 67, 68.
[3] Felt, "Ecclesiastical History of New England," Vol. II., p. 28.

had suffered under no specific statute, but were condemned without law and without trial. When Governor Winslow was called to an account for it by the home government, he acknowledged that the whipping had been done unlawfully, but justified himself on the ground that the sufferers had been evil-doers against the peace of the commonwealth. The General Court, in order that it might have cover of law for its severely repressive measures, enacted the following statute, November 13, 1644:

Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved that since the first rising of the Anabaptists, about one hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of the commonwealths, and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have usually held other errors or heresies together therewith, though they have (as other heretics use to do) concealed the same till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them, by way of question or scruple, and whereas divers of this kind have since our coming into New England appeared amongst ourselves, some whereof (as others before them) denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates, and their inspection into any breach of the first table: which opinions, if they should be connived at by us are like to be increased amongst us, and so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the churches, and hazard to the whole commonwealth: it is ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinances, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court willfully and obstinately to

continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment."[1]

This statute was certainly broad enough to allow punishment of any person whatsoever whom the Court might dislike and desire to drive out of the colony. The assumption that Baptists were "the incendiaries of commonwealths" was wholly gratuitous. It is a fine illustration of hurling opprobrious epithets where the facts in proof are wholly wanting. The gist of this statute was its penalty for disbelief in infant baptism, which was always the real corner-stone on which was builded the union of Church and State. If this were destroyed, the whole structure of a theocratic commonwealth would fall in a hopeless ruin, and the churches of the established order would be left with but little growth and a diminishing power. Here was the crucial question, and the battle was destined to rage around it through many long years before complete religious liberty was won and Church and State were severed. There were some who deplored the severity of the laws against dissent, and especially the cruelty of their application. There was occasionally agitation, although slight, for their repeal. In 1645, "upon a petition of divers persons for consideration of the law against Anabaptists, the Court voted that the law mentioned should not be altered at all, nor explained."[2] The General Court received the following petition, which was far more to its liking, signed by seventy-eight citizens of Roxbury and Dorchester:

[1] "Mass. Records." [2] "Colonial Records," Vol. II., p. 149.

It is therefore our humble petition to this honorable Court that such lawes or orders as are in force amongst us against Anabaptists or other erroneous p-sons whereby to restraine the spreadinge and divulginge of their errors amongst ye people here may not be abrogated and taken away nor any waies weakened but may still continue in their force as now they are, that soe there may not be a dore open for such Dangerous errors to infest and spread in this Country as some doe desire. 13. 3. 46. [1]

The General Court needed no urging, for its spirit was already relentless toward dissenters. The ministers also were watchful to see that the bonds of intolerance were not in any way loosened, and that their own exclusive monopoly of religious teaching was carefully maintained. This protective duty upon religion made them guard all the boundaries of the colony lest some Baptists or Quakers should be smuggled into their society, and the ecclesiastical establishment be secretly undermined. The General Court felt that Plymouth Colony was far too lenient in dealing with Baptists, and sought to stir it up to hostilities against them. As a result of this neighborly citation,

John Hazell, Edward Smith and wife, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Torry and wife, and the wife of James Mann, William Deuell and wife, Baptists of Rehoboth, are presented for continuing to meet from house to house on the Sabbath. The Court charged them to desist from their separation and neither to ordain officers, nor to baptize, nor to break bread together, nor to meet on the first days of the week.[2]

This was in 1649. But they would not promise, and insisted on following the dictates of their own conscience and their understanding of the word of God.

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. X., p. 211.

[2] Felt, "Ecclesiastical History of New England," Vol. II., p. 27.

The General Court wrote again to Plymouth, October 18, 1649:

Wee are credibly informed that your patient bearing with such men hath produced another effect, namely, the multiplying and encreasing of the same errors. Particularly wee understand that within this few weeks there hath binn at Sea Cuncke thirteen or fourteen persons rebaptized (a swift progres in one towne). The infection of such diseases being so neare us, are likely to spread into our jurisdiction.[1]

Sea Cuncke (now Swansea and Rehoboth) had become, under the gentle tolerance of Plymouth Colony, a place where liberty in doctrinal belief was enjoyed, and was admirably fitted to become the home of the Baptist church which was first permanently established there in 1663 Rev. John Myles was the founder and first pastor of this church. He and some of his flock, weary of the persecution in Wales which ensued under the "Act of Uniformity" passed when Charles II. came to the throne, sought in the new world freedom of opinion and worship. This church in Swansea was in some sense a reorganization of the original church in Swansea, Wales,[2] but added to itself members who were already residents of the region, and who had held Baptist doctrines. The church grew rapidly, so that at the end of the first ten years it had more than two hundred members. These were the best and most influential years of its whole history, and furnished a source of lively dissent from the churches of the Standing Order. It was

[1] "Mass. Colonial Records," Vol. III., p. 173.

[2] Only two of the constituent members were from Wales, viz, Rev. John Myles and Nicholas Tanner.

found that the church was located within the jurisdiction of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and persecution soon followed. The members were fined, and were ordered to remove to some other place. They heeded the order and settled within the boundaries of Rhode Island. Afterward they were granted a tract of land by Plymouth Colony, and settled in their present location, which they named Swansea. The church still exists, and has made an honorable history. On July 19, 1651, John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandall, "being the representatives of the Baptist church in Newport, upon the request of William Witter, of Lynn, arrived there, he being a brother in the church, who, by reason of his advanced age, could not undertake so great a journey as to visit the church."[1] No man in colonial Rhode Island history was more influential, except Roger Williams, or of nobler and purer fame than Dr. John Clarke. He was a trusted adviser, a wise legislator, a learned man, a devout Christian, and a distinguished minister. Obadiah Holmes was granted land in Salem in 1639, and was admitted to the church there, March 24, 1640. Later in the same year he was presented by the Grand Jury, "for reproachfully speaking against the ordinance of God" (baptism). In 1646 he removed to Rehoboth.[2] Hence in going to Salem and Lynn he was returning to a former home, and to meet old neighbors and acquaintances. Of John Crandall little is known. William Witter, of Lynn, had been under discipline, and was finally cut

[1] Newport Church Papers.
[2] Felt, "Ecclesiastical History of New England," Vol. II., pp. 25–46.

off from the Salem Church, June 24, 1651, "for absenting himself from public ordinances nine months or more and for being rebaptized."[1] He had previously become a member of the Baptist church in Newport. This aged and blind brother had great joy when his pastor, John Clarke, and the other brethren from Newport, arrived at his home. On the following day (the Lord's Day), they proceeded to hold a simple service of preaching, and of the observance of the Lord's Supper. "Four or five strangers that came in unexpected," were present also in his house, which for the time had become a sanctuary of worship.

Mr. Witter had probably written to the church at Newport that there were persons in his vicinity who wished to be baptized. The church sent, not their pastor alone, but Holmes, also a preacher, and Crandall, a private member, that their number might give a church authority to all their acts. They baptized the candidates, one of whom may have been under admonition in a State Church for his Baptist opinions. The Supper was then celebrated and the newly baptized converts partook with Witter. This view, which is in perfect harmony with all the facts in the case, makes the administration of the Supper an orderly service, such as the strictest Baptist would approve. The Newport Church kept the ordinance at one of its outposts.[2]

While Mr. Clarke was expounding the Scriptures in the house to the little company there gathered, two constables came in with a warrant and arrested him and his Newport associates. They were "watched over that night (in the ordinary) as Theeves and Robbers" by the officers, and on the second day after they

[1] Felt, "Ecclesiastical History of New England," Vol. II., pp. 25–46.
[2] Dr. H. Lincoln, in "Examiner and Chronicle," Dec. 23, 1875.

were lodged in the common jail in Boston (then in Prison Lane, now Court Street). July 31 they were brought to public trial in Boston. Governor Endicott charged them with being Anabaptists, to which Clarke made reply that he was "neither an Anabaptist, nor a Pedobaptist, nor a Catabaptist." At this reply,

The Governor stepped up and told us we had denied infant baptism, and being somewhat transported, told me I had deserved death, and said he would not have such trash brought into his jurisdiction. Moreover he said, "You go up and down and secretly insinuate into those that are weak, but you cannot maintain it before our ministers. You may try and dispute with them." [1]

To this Clarke was about to make reply that he would be pleased to reason upon these matters out of the Scriptures, when the jailer was ordered to take him forthwith to prison. Holmes says:

What they laid to my charge you may here read in my sentence, upon the pronouncing of which, as I went from the bar, I expressed myself in these words: I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus. Whereupon John Wilson [2] (their pastor, as they call him) struck me before the judgment seat, and cursed me saying, "The curse of God or Jesus go with thee." [3]

Clarke says: "In the forenoon we were examined; in the afternoon, without producing either accuser, witness, or jury, law of God or man, we were sentenced." He was "fined twenty pounds, or to be well whipped." Crandall was "fined five pounds or to be well whipped." Holmes was "fined thirty pounds or

[1] Clarke, "Narrative."

[2] John Wilson was the first pastor of the First Parish Church of Boston (1630–1667).

[3] "Holmes' Narrative," Backus, Vol. I., p. 189.

to be well whipped." From his prison cell Clarke wrote this letter, the original of which may be seen in "Massachusetts Archives," Vol. X., p. 212:

To the Hon[d] Court assembled at Boston. Whereas it pleased this Hon[d] Court yesterday to condemne the faith and order which I hold and practice and after you had past your sentence upon me for it wer pleased to expresse I could not maintaine the same against yo[r] ministers and thereupon publickly proffered me a dispute with them: be pleased by these few lines to understand I readily accept it and therefore doe desire you wold appoint the time when pr-son with whom, in that publick place whar I was condemned, I might with fredome and without molestation of the civill powre dispute that point publickly, when I doubt not but by the grace of Christ to make it good out of his last will and testament unto which nothing is to be added nor from which nothing is to be diminished: Thus desiring the father of light to shine forth by his powre to expell y[e] darknes,

from the prison this 1. 6. 51. I remaine yo[r] well wisher JOHN CLARKE.

The governor, who at first had shown an inclination to allow the points of disagreement to be publicly discussed with the ministers of the colony, and indeed had openly in court offered Clarke that privilege, afterward, at the instigation of the ministers themselves, ignored his letter of acceptance of this proposal. From the prison Clarke sent these four propositions, which he ardently hoped to be permitted to discuss:

First, "The absolute Lordship of Jesus Christ in all matters of doctrine"; secondly, "That baptism, or dipping in water, is one of the commandments of this Lord Jesus Christ, and that a visible believer or disciple of Christ Jesus (that is one that manifesteth repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ) is the only person that is to be baptized, or dipped with that visible baptism, or

dipping of Jesus Christ in water" ; thirdly, "That every believer may, in point of liberty, exhort, or preach, or prophesy" ; fourthly, "That no believer hath right to persecute his brother for a matter of conscience."

These were certainly lucid and explicit statements, and appeared reasonable matter of debate between the men in power and a man in prison. They were then and are now good Baptist doctrines. But the debate was not allowed. No notice was taken of his appeal nor of his statements. When it became noised abroad that there was to be a public debate, great interest and expectation were aroused. It was rumored that the distinguished John Cotton would be the disputant for the Court. Nothing came of it all. Probably the Court discreetly concluded that such a public discussion would advertise the "Baptist heresie" far and wide, and that still further mischief would ensue.

Clarke and Crandall were not long after released "upon the payment of their fines by some tender-hearted friends without their consent and contrary to their judgment." But Holmes could not be persuaded to accept such deliverance. He would neither pay the fine, nor allow it to be paid, and was kept in prison until September, when he was brought forth and publicly whipped

With a three coarded whip, giving me therewith thirty stroakes. As the man began to lay the stroakes upon my back, I said to the people, though my flesh should fail and my spirit should fail, yet my God would not fail.

When he was released from the whipping-post he said to the magistrates,

You have struck me as with roses.[1] Although the Lord hath made it easy to me yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charge.[2]

The whipping was so severe that Governor Jenckes says:

Mr. Holmes was whipped thirty stripes, and in such an unmerciful manner, that in many days, if not some weeks, he could take no rest, but as he lay on his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay.

Morgan Edwards says:

This was the first instance of tormenting for conscience' sake in New England, and that a Baptist was the protomartyr here as a Baptist was the first martyr that was burned in Old England.

Two friends, of Baptist proclivities, but not yet avowed Baptists, who stood by the whipping-post, out of sheer sympathy with Holmes' sufferings extended to him their hands, and one of them said, "Blessed be the Lord." This exhibition of compassion caused the magistrates to order them "to be fined forty shillings or to be well whipped." They were thrust into prison, but were at length released through the intervention of friends who paid their fines. One of these friends was John Spur, who was a member of the First Puritan Church of Boston. He was cut off June 1, 1651, because he believed that their baptism,

[1] Dr. H. M. Dexter has sought to make it appear that this expression of Holmes indicates that the whipping was only a "play whipping," and not at all severe. It was done so gently as to make the sentence merely nominal. Such interpretations of history are altogether too partisan to gain any credence among fair-minded readers, even if there were not evidence to the contrary. The Puritans did not indulge in such levity. They were in earnest.

[2] "Rhode Island Hist. Coll.," Vol. VI., p. 332.

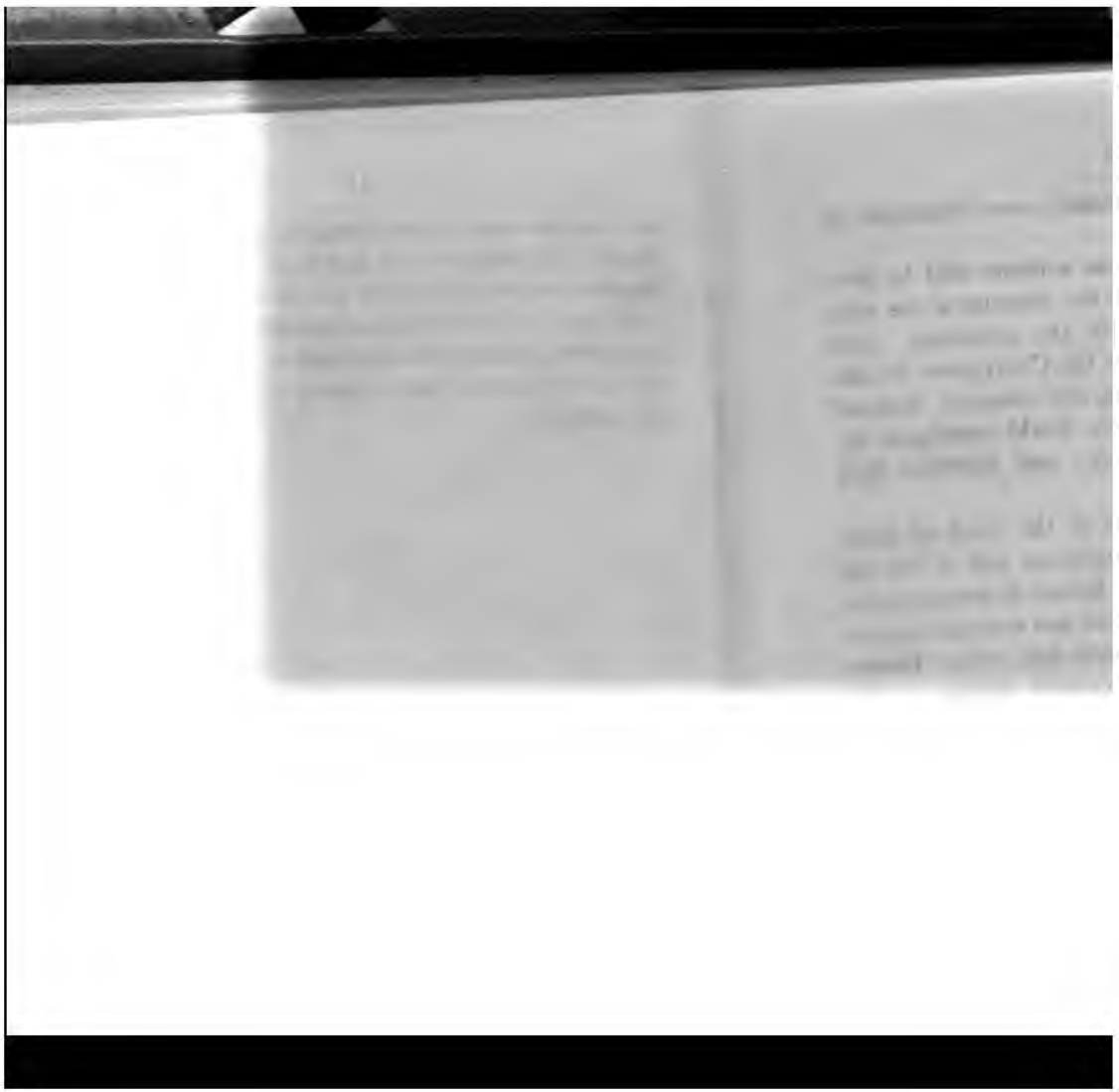
singing of psalms, and covenant, were "humaine inventions."[1]

All these things were done without trial by jury, or any trial whatever, but at the pleasure of the magistrates in consultation with the ministers. John Cotton in his sermon, before the Court gave its sentence against Clarke, Holmes, and Crandall, declared that "denying infant baptism would overthrow all, and this was a capital offence: and therefore they were soul murderers."[2]

This whipping took place at the head of State Street in front of the meeting-house and of the old State House. The site of the former is now occupied by the Brazier Building. Boston has erected a monument to the memory of those who fell in the "Boston massacre" of 1770, which occurred almost on the same spot. They fell in the assertion of the rights of freemen and in resistance to British tyranny over municipal and civil liberty. Will Boston ever erect a monument to Obadiah Holmes, whose blood flowed freely on the same ground in assertion of the rights of conscience, and in resistance to American tyranny over religious liberty? The sufferers in the massacre acted on the impulse of the mob and but dimly realized their part in the struggle for liberty. The sufferer at the whipping-post acted intelligently, deliberately, and with clear knowledge of the significance of what he suffered. He was the truth-loving forerunner of the martyrs whose patient sufferings eventually saved New England from herself and from the

[1] Felt, "Ecclesiastical History of New England," Vol. II., p. 46.
[2] John Spur's "Testimony."

dire consqueences of her strange blindness concerning liberty. He was the first in a sadly long list of those who suffered in order that the New England intelligence and the New England conscience might assert themselves, and forever establish in the New World a civil and religious liberty which should be Christian and complete.



CHAPTER II

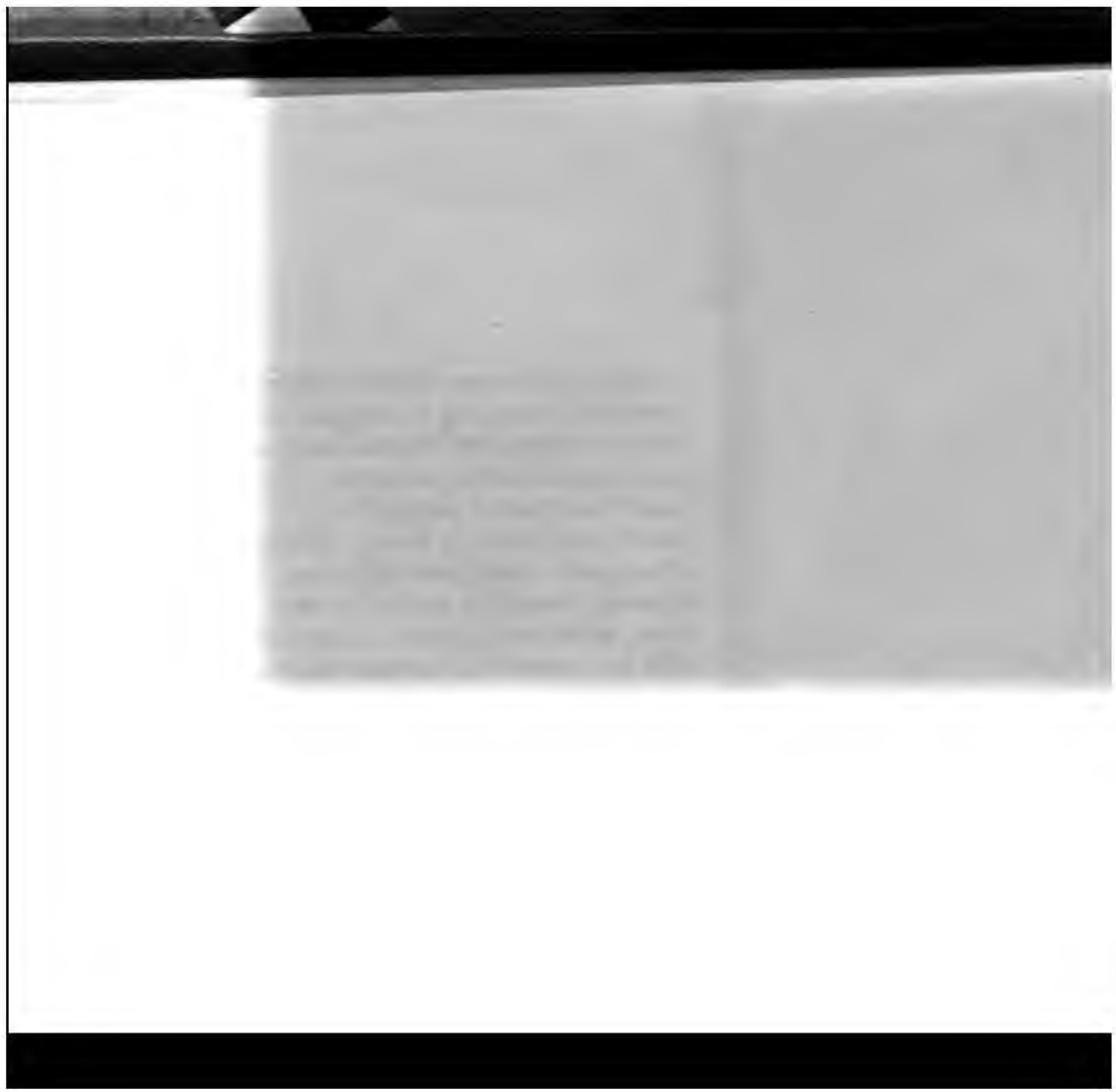
Henry Dunster and Thomas Goold.



II

ALL the repressive measures devised by the General Court, and the severity of the persecutions, only served to make Baptists more widely known and to create toward them an active sympathy. They were the persuasive and fruitful preparation for the establishment of a Baptist church in Boston. It was one among the oft-repeated illustrations of history, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." It was impossible that men should not inquire what these peaceable and law-abiding citizens had done, and what doctrines they held, which should subject them to these indignities and sufferings. The spirit of inquiry is always a dangerous antagonist of the spirit of tyranny, however sincere or devout the forms of that tyranny may appear. Men who had thought little or nothing about Baptists, now began to inquire about them and their doctrines. Inquiry made new converts and sympathizers. "The Baptist heresie" broke out in wholly unexpected and alarming quarters.

Henry Dunster, the first president and practically the founder of Harvard College, was one of the most eminent and useful men in the New World. He was regarded as "a miracle of scholarship," and his modesty, amiability, and devoutness, were not less conspicuous than his scholarship. He had devoted himself with rare assiduity to the establishing of the



infant college. He stood pre-eminent in that notable group of English university-bred men which adorned and guided the affairs of the colony during those early years. The admiration for him was almost boundless, while the grace and sweetness of his character made him almost equally well beloved. He was the rare man, who appears all too seldom, in whom lofty scholarship, noble character, profound unselfishness, and sweet humility are happily blended. He had become president of the college in 1640, and had united with the First Church in Cambridge. It would be difficult to overestimate the confidence and the pride which the whole colony felt in regard to President Dunster.

In 1653 he began to give public expression to his dissent from the scripturalness of infant baptism. The whipping of Holmes, two years earlier, had undoubtedly arrested his attention, and aroused him to search the Scriptures. After some months of careful study, he plainly declared, "All instituted Gospel Worship hath some express word of Scripture, but Pedobaptism hath none."[1] In February, 1654, he held for two days a public disputation with nine leading ministers of the colony upon this thesis: *Soli visibiliter fideles sunt baptizendi*—Believers visibly only are to be baptized. All the arguments brought against him were fruitless toward changing his opinions. He insistently declared himself opposed to infant baptism, because it had no warrant of Scripture and urged the baptism of believers only. He soon gave a practical expression to his views by withholding his own child

[1] "Dunster MSS.," p. 289.

from baptism. So conspicuous a defection from the Puritan doctrine, and so masterly an attack upon the key position of a theocratic State, aroused the leaders in Church and State as nothing previously had been able to do. Every effort was made to win him back, or at least to persuade him to remain silent. The appeal of personal affection was made to him. The danger to the colony and to the college was set before him. The ruin of his personal fortune and of his future usefulness was threatened. But all was in vain. He was immovable. He contended, "that the subjects of Baptisme were visible penitent believers, and they only by Vertue of any rule, example, or any other light in the new testament." He had put nearly all his private property into the establishment of the college. He had given it at one time a hundred acres of land, and with almost no outside financial assistance had built the president's house. For nearly fourteen years, he had given himself with rare and single devotion to its maintenance. His property was invested in it. His life was wrapped up in its work. His attitude toward infant baptism imperiled everything which he held dear except the truth. The Grand Jury sent a request to the ministers to formulate a suitable charge against him, which they did, and he was presented to the Court under indictment, "For disturbing the ordinance of infant baptism in the Cambridge Church." His reply was:

> But for the matter, I conceived then, and so do still, that I spoke the truth in the feare of God, and dare not deny the same or go from it untell the Lord otherwise teach me, and this I pray the Honored Court to take for mine Answer.



In October, 1654, he was forced to resign the presidency, for as Cotton Mather says, "he had fallen into the briars of antipedobaptism," and his usefulness was deemed to be at an end. His defection from the standing order was a shock and grief to all the adherents of Puritanism, to such an extent as is impossible for us at this day to understand. He was ordered to vacate his house, just as the severities of winter were coming on, but upon his humble petition, and statement of the delicate health of his family, he was permitted to remain until spring. He then left his home an impoverished man, and scarcely knew which way to turn for employment among those who were now unfriendly to him. He removed at length out of the jurisdiction of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and located in Scituate, which belonged to Plymouth Colony. There he preached to a little flock which he gathered about himself. But even there his enemies pursued him, for on April 7, 1657, the Grand Jury presented Henry Dunster to the Court at Cambridge, "for not bringing his child to the Holy Ordinance of baptisme."[1] When he "affirmed that none of them had given any demonstrative argument touching infant baptism," the Court, instead of giving him a reasonable answer or refutation, "Sollemly, admonished him of his dangerous error," and ordered that he should give bonds for his appearance at the next Court of Assistants in Boston. It is probable that he was never brought to trial. He died in Scituate, February 27, 1659. His death allayed ecclesiastical animosities, and

[1] "Middlesex Court Original Papers."

His body was solemnly interred at Cambridge, where he had spent the choice part of his studies and of his life, and might there have continued if he had been endowed with that wisdom which many others have wanted besides himself, to have kept his singular opinion to himself, when there was little occasion for venting thereof.[1]

Fortunately for New England and the world, Henry Dunster was no coward, and was endowed with the spiritual sagacity which foresees the triumph of the truth, and is ready to suffer in its behalf. He was, indeed, one of the early New England martyrs.

These sufferings for truth and conscience' sake evidently made a profound impression on the mind of Thomas Goold, of Charlestown, who was a close friend of the learned president. He also became disturbingly inquisitive on the subject of infant baptism. In 1655 the elders of the Charlestown Church put Goold under admonition for not bringing his infant child to baptism, and when they sent him a note requesting his appearance before them to answer for his delinquency, Dunster was among the group of friends at his house who advised him what to do. It is evident that they were in close sympathy with each other before this time, and that Dunster's attitude and views were the direct cause of Goold's withholding his child from baptism. It may be said, therefore, with a large measure of truth, that Henry Dunster was the founder of the First Baptist Church of Boston, for he was the immediate forerunner and influential cause of the attitude of Thomas Goold, who finally became the actual founder of the church, in 1665. There can be no

[1] Hubbard, "History of New England."



doubt that if Henry Dunster had lived until 1665 he would have become the first pastor of the church instead of Thomas Goold, his friend and disciple, and would have had the joy of seeing his views embodied in a church of baptized believers.

This consummation was, for some unknown reason, delayed until six years after he had passed away. Probably the sternly intolerant spirit of the authorities made it seem impolitic that the group of Baptists should organize themselves formally into a church, but it is known that they met privately for simple worship some years before the final organization. It is perhaps idle to speculate upon what different results might have ensued if Dunster had lived to become founder and pastor of this church. He certainly was not without courage to brave persecutions. He might have attracted to himself many men of learning and influence, and have given the church such a standing as to have precluded some of the fiery persecutions through which it afterward was called to pass. He found in his disciple, Thomas Goold, a man as inflexible in character as himself, and one whom the terrors of fines, imprisonments, and the loss of all things, had no power to frighten. In the simplicity and greatness of their characters they had much in common. Henry Dunster's name and memory will ever hold a cherished and fragrant place in the history of the First Baptist Church.

In 1720 the church wrote a letter to the Baptist churches in London, and gave some account of the rise of the church. The following is an extract from the letter, which has been preserved:

It pleased the Lord, by his divine and wise-disposing providence to spirit a small number of men who were very gracious and enlightened in the knowledge of his truth as it is in Jesus, and to appear for the vindication thereof, and to encourage them for their gathering into a church in the way and order of the gospel as above mentioned, which several wise and learned[1] men endeavored but could not accomplish it. However God was pleased to succeed the endeavors of our brethren who were not so accomplished with acquired parts and abilities by learning.[2]

What Dunster, the wise and learned, was not permitted to do, was accomplished by God's grace through Thomas Goold, who declares,

We consulting together what to do, sought the Lord to direct us, and taking counsel of other friends who dwelt among us, who were able and godly, they gave us counsel to congregate ourselves together: and so we did, being nine of us, to walk in the order of the gospel according to the rule of Christ, yet knowing that it was a breach of the law of this country: that we had not the approbation of magistrates and ministers, for that we suffered the penalty of that law, when we were called before them.[3]

Thomas Goold[4] was one of the leading freemen of Charlestown, and was a man of notable character and standing both in town and church. His business was that of a wagon maker. He was one of the leading property owners of the town. In a list of two hundred and twelve freemen, among whom in 1658 the public meadow lands on the other side of the Mystic River were divided *pro rata* by the town, according to

[1] This allusion is doubtless to Henry Dunster and others.
[2] Rev. S. Hall's "Collection," Backus, Vol. I., p. 490.
[3] Backus, "History," Vol. I., p. 296.
[4] His name has been spelled in a variety of ways, but his own signature to a prison bail-bond, preserved in the "Massachusetts Archives," spells it Goold. Hence that spelling is followed in this history.



the assessed property which they owned in the town, his name appears twelfth on the list.[1] That he was a man who knew how to think in a clear, consecutive, and orderly way, his narrative of his experience amply shows. He was undoubtedly the writer of the Confession of Faith which the church still accepts as its credal statement. The honorable and influential position which he held in the community accounts for the long and patient dealing with him by the Charlestown Church, and also for the stir which his open espousal of Baptist doctrines caused in the colony. Upon him, for many years, fell the heaviest burden of fines, imprisonments, banishments, and social ostracism. Hubbard, in his "History of New England," says that "Goold was a man of a grave and serious spirit and of sober conversation." He and Hannah, his wife, were admitted to the First Congregational Church, of Charlestown on the seventh day of the fourth month in 1640.[2] He was admitted a freeman of the colony June 2, 1641. The restrictions about this privilege were so great that to be a freeman was an especial distinction. He was admitted again to the Charlestown Church on the twenty-first day, first month, 1652,[3] in which year he was also one of the selectmen of the town. He had evidently changed his residence and returned again, but where he went or how long he remained is unknown. He would seem to have had no scruples about infant baptism in 1641, for in that year he brought his infant daughter to be christened. But between that date and 1655

[1] Frothingham, "History of Charlestown," p. 153.
[2] "Records of First Church, Charlestown." [3] *Ibid.*

had occurred the public whipping of Obadiah Holmes, because he was a Baptist, and the agitating public discussion over President Dunster, between whom and himself was a warm friendship. It is not surprising, therefore, that when in 1655 another child was born to him he refused to have it christened, and in consequence was earnestly admonished by the church. But persisting in his refusal he was suspended from communion, December 30, 1656.

This was soon followed by a course of expostulation, admonition, and discipline, lasting through nearly ten years, until July 30, 1665, when he was excluded from the church upon definite information that "he had embodied himself with other Anabaptists in a pretended church way." Even if the debates between himself and the church sometimes grew warm, and threats were made against him which were difficult to bear, nevertheless the church in the main showed a commendable patience with him during these ten years. It is abundantly manifest that he was a man of influence and distinction in the community, otherwise he would have been more summarily cut off from church fellowship. In 1656 he was summoned before the Middlesex Court, "for denying infant baptism to his child, and thus putting himself and his descendants in peril of the Lord's displeasure, as in the case of Moses."

But the case of Moses does not seem to have greatly frightened him, nor to have swerved him from his course of dissent, for in the following April (1657) he was again presented by the grand jury, and in company with ex-President Dunster, who was presented

by the same grand jury, was indicted and brought before the court on the same charge: "Thomas Goold being presented by the Grand Jury held at Cambridge, April 7, 1657, for not bringing his child to the holy ordinance of baptism, the said Goold appearing in Court confessed his child to be unbaptized, the Court sollemly admonished him of his dangerous error."[1] In June,

> Thomas Goold being again called the 24 : (4). 57 : and not appearing the Court ordered that the Clarke of the Court should send an attachment for him to appear before any magistrate, in case he did refuse upon notice given him, to give twenty pounds bond for his appearance at the next Court of Assistants at Boston and that he should pay the costs of Court.[2]

I shall insert in full the original record of the Charlestown Church, and also Goold's own narrative concerning the long course of discipline which now ensued. The facts have been so frequently distorted by writers on colonial history, that in the interests of justice the two records ought to be put side by side. The judicial reader will then be able to decide for himself what is the exact truth in this notable case of discipline. The Charlestown Church was founded in 1628, but no records of its history are preserved prior to this record of discipline as here set forth, sixth day, fourth month, 1658. This record was not entered in their books until some time after the events recorded. It was then made from the memory of its only elder, Zech. Symmes, who seems to have shown more heat and zeal in the discipline than wis-

[1] "Middlesex Court Original Papers," also Armitage, "History," p. 699.
[2] "Cambridge Court Record."

dom or brotherliness. How far the recollections of a man of such a temper are to be trusted, when they are put into the church record a considerable time after Goold was excommunicated and outlawed for being a Baptist, the impartial reader must determine. How significant the discipline and final withdrawal of Goold and Osborn appeared to the officers of the church may be inferred from their desire to put it on record as the first important entry of their church book! Their prescience was singularly correct, and has been fully justified by history, for it was by far, in its various bearings, the most important event in their history. It was the beginning of organized and fearless dissent in Massachusetts, and marked the opening of that long and weary struggle, the end of which almost two centuries later was complete religious liberty and the severance of Church and State.[1]

The church tried persuasion; the Court tried coercion; but both were alike vain. The church proposed argument and excommunication; the Court proposed fines and imprisonment; but no proposal proved persuasive with the indomitable spirit of Thomas Goold. The general spirit of the severer class of Puritans of this period may be better understood in the light of some of their familiar utterances: "Anabaptism is so cruel and hard-hearted opinion."[2] "Anabaptism is an Engine framed to cut the throat of the Infanttry of the Church."[2] "'Tis Satan's policy to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration."[2] "Anabaptisme

[1] Complete separation of Church and State was not guaranteed by the Constitution of Massachusetts until 1833.
[2] Thomas Shepherd, "Election Sermon" (1672), pp. 24, 25.

we shall find hath ever been looked at by the Godly Leaders of this people as a Scab."[1] "Protestants ought not to *persecute* any, yet that Protestants may *punish* Protestants; and as the case may be circumstanced, a Congregation of such as call themselves Protestants cannot rationably be denied."[2] "Experience tells us that such a rough thing as a *New England Anabaptist* is not to be handled over tenderly."[3] "It was toleration that made the world Antichristian."[4] "The Lord keep us from being bewitched with the whore's cup, lest while we seem to detest & reject her with open face of profession, we do not bring her in by a back door of Toleration."[5] "*Separation* and *Anabaptism* are wonted intruders, and seeming *Friends*, but secret fatall Enemies to Reformation."[6] Such passages from sermons of the time might be multiplied indefinitely. The Baptist schism was the most dreaded of all with which the colony was threatened, and no epithets were too opprobrious to be hurled at its adherents. The ministers were insistently urging the civil magistrates to use coercive measures and to punish heretics. "To purge New England of heresie," was the favorite appeal, and was the open door through which the civil courts let loose the fierce horde of fines, imprisonments, and banishments.

[1] Thomas Shepherd, "Election Sermon" (1672), pp. 24, 25.
[2] Increase Mather, Intro. "*Ne Suter Ultra Crepidam.*"
[3] Samuel Willard, "*Ne Suter Ultra Crepidam.*" [4] *Ibid.*
[5] John Cotton, "Bloody Tenet Washed," p. 132, 192.
[6] Jonathan Mitchell, "Election Sermon" 1667.

CHAPTER III

Discipline of Thomas Goold. Record of Charlestown Church. Thomas Goold's own Narrative.

III

THE following is a transcript from the records of the First Parish Church of Charlestown:

Upon the 6th of 4th m. 1658.

Brother Thomas Gold, according to the agreement of the church the Lord's day before, was called forth to give an account of his *long withdrawing* from the public ordinances amongst us on the Lord's day. It was asked brother Gold, whether he had any rule from God's word so to do? or whether it were not a manifest breach of rule and order of the gospel? His answer several times was to this effect that he had not turned from any ordinance of God, but did attend the word in other places. It was then asked him, whether he did not own church covenant as an ordinance of God, and himself in covenant with this church? He answered he did, but we had cut him off, or put him away by denying to him the Lord's Supper, when only he had been *admonished*, and so now had no more privilege than an Indian, and therefore he looked not now at himself as a member of our church, but was free to go anywhither. He was likewise blamed, that having so often expressed his desire to attend any light that might help him in his judgment and practice, about *children's baptism:* that yet he should forbear, and stay away, when he could not but know, that his pastor was speaking largely to that subject. He confest his wife told him of it: and being asked how he could in faith partake of the Lord's Supper, whilst he judged his own *baptism void* and null? he owned it was so, as administered to him as a child; but since God had given him grace, he now came to *make use* of it, and get good by it. It being replied that a person owned by all, as gracious, and fit for (the) Supper, is not yet to be admitted to it, till baptized: he said little or nothing to it, but spoke divers things, generally offensive to the brethren, and would own no failing. Hence after much time spent, the brethren consent-



ing, he was admonished for breaking away from the church, in way of schism, never having used any means to convince the church of any irregular proceeding, but continuing peremptorily and contumaciously to justifie his schism. This transaction was speedily after the acting thereof truly recorded by the then only elder of this church : Zech. Symmes, Mr. Green the ruling elder dying a little before. *Nov 18, 1663.* Bro. Thomas *Osborn* being leavened with principles of *Anabaptisme* was (the brethren consenting) *admonished* for frequent irregular withdrawing himself from the publick worship of God, holding it to be no sin to neglect the publick ordinances of God upon the Lord's day, even when they might conveniently be enjoyed ; and for continuing impenitent in his sin. On the same day also, it was consented to by the brethren that *his wife*, leavened with principles of *Anabaptisme* and *Quakerisme*, should receive an admonition for her notorious neglect of the publique worship of God, *denying our churches* to be true churches, and denying her membership with us, and, also, the churches power over her, and continuing impenitent in her sin. She went home from the assembly, when the admonition should have been declared to her, but however it was declared that she was under the publiq offence of the church. And at the same time Bro. Thomas Gool also persisting in his schismatical withdrawing from the church, notwithstanding his former admonition, and now for denying his relation to this church, as a brother of it, and also for denying the churches power over him, was againe (with the consent of the brethren) declared to be under the great offence of the church, and rebuked for his impenitency in that sin of his. *Feb. 21. 1664.* Bro. Thomas *Osborn* received a second admonition (with the consent of the brethren) for his obstinacy in his former sin, for which he had been (Nov. 18) admonished, and aggravated by another degree of schisme, refusing (as he expressly and vehemently affirmed) to hold communion with the church any longer, as formerly he had done : because we held *baptisme* of children to be an ordinance of God & etc. *Feb. 28, 1664.* Bro. Thomas Gool was again admonished (with the consent of the brethren) for his impenitency in his former sin of schisming for which he had been admonished, and withall now refusing to give an account to the church who did

enquire concerning a *private meeting* kept at his house on the Lord's day (November 8, 1663) with Bro. Osborn and other Anabaptists, when he should, and might conveniently have been present with the church in the publiq worship of God : he said it was not the season for him to answer, and therefore would not give an account of it : for which things above said, he was accordingly censured. *July 9, 1665.* The Church, hearing that Bro. *Gool* and Bro. *Osborn* had together with other Anabaptists, *embodied* themselves in a pretended church way : *sent Deacon Lynd* and Deacon Stillson to them with this message : viz : That they should be present with this church the next Lord's day in the public worship of God, and at the evening thereof to stay, and give an account to the church of that report which was heard concerning them, as also concerning their former offences : and the church did then desire our Deacons to acquaint our sister Osborn (that had been for some time under the public offence of the church) with that meeting, and that she should be present likewise with her husband. *July 16, 1665.* Our Deacons having carried the message of the church to Bro. Gool, Bro. Osborn and our sister *Osborn*, to come and hear the church : the answer returned back to the church was negative. Bro. Gool said he should not come, and if our church had anything to say against him, they should acquaint the society with it to which he was *then joined:* saying also that he was no member of our church : and said, your church hath nothing to do with me. Bro. Osborn said that he had given his reasons to the church formerly why he could not hold communion with it : viz : because of Infant Baptism : 2. our allowing none but such as had *human learning* to be in the ministry. 3. our *severe dealing* with those of a contrary judgment from us : and, therefore said he should not come to the church. Our sister Osborn's was that she desired not to continue with the church, but would be *dismissed which way they would*, and that she could not come to the church. She should sin against her conscience if she did. These members thus refusing to appear, the church judged it meet to wait with some further patience upon our brethren abovesaid, and sister : and they did therefore desire our Deacons again, with our brother Ensign Tidd, to carry this message following to them, viz : to tell them that they are under the *further offence* of the church for their separating

from our communion, and refusing to hear the church, and that the church doth desire, and require them in the name of Christ that they should return to us, and come and hear the church and give an account the next Lord's day of their withdrawing. *July 23, 1665.* Our messengers having delivered the message above-said to Bro. Gool, Bro. Osborn, and Sister Osborn: the answer returned to them was the same (in a manner) they gave the week before: Bro. Gool denying his relation to the church in Charlestown, and that they had nothing to do with him, and also said that they were to have the Lord's Supper administered in their church the next Lord's day, and therefore he should not come: Bro. Osborn said he should not come to the church, and that the church might proceed as they pleased with him: Our sister Osborn's answer was as formerly, refusing to come. Whereupon it was propounded to vote (after a proposal of it had been made by some of the brethren) that if there did come in nothing of *repentance manifested* by these persons to the church between this and the *next Lord's day*, whether then the church should proceed (seeing these matters had formerly been so fully and oft debated) without further debating the matter the next Lord's day, and (if nothing of more than ordinary weight to hinder did fall out in the interim) that these our brethren and she our sister should have the censure of *excommunication* passed against them? It was unanimously carried by a *silentiary*[1] vote in the affirmative, not one of the brethren present expressing a word against it. *July 30, 1665.* Nothing of repentance intervening, Bro. Thomas Gool, Bro. Thomas Osborn, and his wife our sister Osborn, were (with the consent of the brethren) *excommunicated* for their impenitency in their schismatical withdrawing from the church and neglecting to hear the church.

The following is Thomas Goold's own narration concerning the same discipline:

It having been a long time a scruple to me about infant baptism, God was pleased at last to make it clear to me by the rule

[1] Silentiary vote was a vote by common consent. No one arose to say anything adversely. Only male members had a vote.

of the gospel, that children were not capable nor fit subjects for such an ordinance, because Christ gave this commission to his apostles, first to preach to make them disciples, and then to baptize them, which infants were not capable of; so that I durst not bring forth my child to be partaker of it; so looking that my child had no right to it, which was in the year 1655, when the Lord was pleased to give me a child; I staid some space of time and said nothing to see what the church would do with me. On a third day of the week when there was a meeting at my house, to keep a day of thanksgiving to God for his mercy shown to my wife, at that time one coming to the meeting, brought a note from the elders of the church to this effect, that they desired me to come down on the morrow to the elder's house, and to send word again what time of that day I would come, and they would stay at home for me; and if I could not come that day to send them word. I, looking on the writing with many friends with me, I told them I had promised to go another way on the morrow. Master Dunstan[1] being present desired me to send them word, that I could not come on the morrow, but that I would come any other time that they would appoint me; and so I sent word back by the same messenger. The fifth day, meeting with elder Green, I told him how it was; he told me it was well, and that they would appoint another day when he had spoken with the pastor, and then they would send me word. This lay about two months, before I heard any more from them. On a First-day, in the afternoon, one told me I must stop, for the church would speak with me. They called me out, and Master Sims told the church, that this brother did withhold his child from baptism, and that they had sent unto him to come down on such a day to speak with them, and if he could not come on that day to set a day when he would come, and they be at home, but he refusing to come would appoint no time, when we writ to him to take his own time and send us word.

I replied that there was no such word in the letter, for me to appoint the day; but what time that day I should come. Mr. Sims stood up and told me, *I did lie*, for they sent to me to ap-

[1] Henry Dunster.



point the day. I replied again that there was no such thing in the letter. He replied again, that they did not set down a time, and not a day, therefore he told me it was a lie; and that they would leave my judgment and deal with me for a lie; and told the church that he and the elder agreed to write, that if I could not come that day, to appoint the time when I could come, and that he read it, after the elder writ it, and the elder affirmed it was so; but I still replied, there was no such thing in the letter, and thought that I could produce the letter. They bid me let them see the letter, or they would proceed against me for a lie. Brother Thomas Wilder, sitting before me, stood up and told them, that it was so in the letter as I said, for he read it when it came to me. But they answered it was not so, and bid him produce the letter, or they would proceed with me. He said, I think I can produce the letter, and forthwith took it out of his pocket, which I wondered at; and I desired him to give it to Mr. Russell to read, and so he did, and he read it very faithfully, and it was just as I had said, that I must send them word what time of that day I would come down; so that their mouths were stopped, and Master Sims put it off, and said he was mistaken, for he thought he had read it otherwise; but the elder said, This is nothing, let us proceed with him for his judgment. Now let any man judge what a fair beginning this was, and if you wait awhile you may see as fair an ending. They called me forth to know why I would not bring my child to baptism. But before I speak to that, observe tbe providence of God in the carriage of this letter. Brother Wilder was with us when their letter came to my house, and after Mr. Dunstan [Dunster] had read it, he gave it to brother Wilder and he put it into his pocket, and it lay there eight or nine weeks, till, that day I was called forth, going a good space from his house, finding it too cold to go in the clothes he had on, [he] returned again and put on another pair of breeches which were warmer, and when he had so done, put his hand into his pocket to see if he had any paper to write with, and there found that letter, and put it in again and went to meeting, yet not knowing what would be done that day concerning me. God had so appointed it, to stop their fierce proceedings against me for a lie, which they sought to take me in. Then asking me why I did

not bring my child to baptism, my answer was, I did not see any rule of Christ for it, for that ordinance belongs to such as can make profession of their faith, as the Scripture doth plainly hold forth. . . They answered me, That was meant of grown persons, and not of children; but that which was most alleged by them was, that children were capable of circumcision in the time of the law, and therefore as capable in the time of the gospel of baptism; and asked me, why children were not to be baptized in the time of the gospel, as well as children were circumcised in the time of the law? My answer was, God gave a strict command in the law for circumcision of children; but we have no command in the gospel, nor example, for the baptizing of children. Many other things were spoken, then a meeting was appointed by the church the next week at Mr. Russell's.

Being met at Mr. Russell's house, Mr. Sims took a writing out of his pocket wherein he had drawn up many arguments for infants' baptism, and told the church that I must answer those arguments, which I suppose he had drawn from some author; and told me I must keep to those arguments. My answer was, I thought the church had met together to answer my scruples, and to satisfy my conscience by a rule of God, and not for me to answer his writing. He said he had drawn it up for the help of his memory, and desired we might go on. Then I requested three things of them. 1st. That they should not make me offender for a word. 2d. They should not drive me faster than I was able to go. 3d. That if any present should see cause to clear up anything that is spoken by me, they might have their liberty without offence; because here are many of you that have their liberty to speak against me if you see cause. But it was denied, and Mr. Sims was pleased to reply, that he was able to deal with me himself and that I know it. So we spent four or five hours speaking to many things to and again; but so hot, both sides, that we quickly forgot and went from the arguments that were written. At last one of the company stood up and said, I will give you one plain place of Scripture where children were baptized. I told him that would put an end to the controversy. That place in the second of the Acts, 39th, 40th verses. After he had read the Scripture, Mr. Sims told me that promise belonged to infants, for the Scripture



saith, *The promise is to you and your children, and to all that are afar off;* and he said no more, to which I replied, *Even so many as the Lord our God shall call.* Mr. Sims replied, that I spoke blasphemously in adding to the Scriptures. I said, pray do not condemn me, for if I am deceived, my eyes deceive me. He replied again, I added to the Scripture, which was blasphemy. I, looking in my Bible, read the words again, and said it was so. He replied the same words the third time before the church. Mr. Russell stood up and told him it was so as I had read it. Ay, it may be so in your Bible, saith Mr. Sims. Mr. Russell answered, Yea in yours too if you will look into it. Then he said he was mistaken, for he thought on another place; so after many other words we broke up for that time.

At another meeting the church required me to bring out my child to baptism. I told them I durst not do it, for I did not see any rule for it in the word of God. They brought many places of Scripture in the Old and New Testaments, as circumcision and the promise to Abraham, and that children were holy, and they were disciples. But I told them that all these places made nothing for infants' baptism. Then stood up W. D. in the church and said, "*Put him in the Court! Put him in the Court!*" But Mr. Sims answered, I pray forbear such words; but it proved so, for presently after, they put me in the Court, and put me in seven or eight Courts, whilst they looked upon me to be a member of their church. The elder pressed the church to lay me under admonition, which the church was backward to do. Afterwards I went out at the sprinkling of children, which was a great trouble to some honest hearts, and they told me of it. But I told them I could not stay, for I look upon it as no ordinance of Christ. They told me that now I had made known my judgment I might stay, for they know I did not join with them. So I stayed and sat down in my seat when they were at prayer and administering that service to infants. Then they dealt with me for my unreverent carriage. . . One stood up and accused me, that I stopped my ears; but I denied it.

At another meeting they asked me if I would suffer the church to fetch my child and baptize it? I answered, If they would fetch my child and do it as their own act they might do it; but when

they should bring my child, I would make known to the congregation that I had no hand in it; then some in the church were against doing of it. A brother stood up and said, Brother Gould, you were once for children's baptism, why are you fallen from it? I answered, It is true, and I suppose you were once for crossing in baptism, why are you fallen from that? The man was silent. But Mr. Sims stood up in a great heat, and desired the church to take notice of it, that I compared the ordinance of Christ to the cross in baptism! This was one of the great offences they dealt with me for. After this the Deputy Governor meeting me in Boston, called me to him and said, Goodman Gould, I desire you that you would let the church baptize your child. I told him that if the church would do it upon their own account they should do it, but I durst not bring out my child. So he called to Mrs. Norton of Charlestown, and prayed her to fetch Goodman Gould's child and baptize it. So she spake to them, but not rightly, informing them, she gave them to understand that I would bring out my child. They called me out again and asked me if I would bring forth my child? I told them No, I durst not do it, for I see no rule for it. One of the brethren stood up and said, If I would not let my child partake of one ordinance, it was meet I should not partake of the other; so many of the church concluded to lay me under admonition; but before they did it Mr. Sims told me, it was more according to rule for me to withdraw from the ordinance, than for them to put me by; bringing that place of Scripture, If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy offering and be reconciled first to thy brother. But I told them I did not know that my brother had anything justly against me; for they had not shown me any rule of Christ that I had broken, therefore I durst not withdraw from that ordinance that I had found so much of God in; but if they would put me by, I hoped God would feed my soul another way. So they proceeded to admonition. Elder Green said, Brother Gould, you are to take notice that you are admonished for three things; the first is, that you refused to bring your child to be baptized; the second is, for your contentious words and unreverent carriage in the time of that ordinance; the third is, for a late lie you told; and therefore you are to take no-



tice, that you are not to partake any more of the ordinance of Christ with us, till you give satisfaction for these things. But when that late lie was told I know not, except it was when the letter was found in brother Wilder's pocket. This admonition was between seven and eight years before they cast me out. After this I went to Cambridge meeting, which was as near my house as the other; upon that they put me into the Court, that I did not come to hear; but many satisfied the Court that I did come constantly to Cambridge; so they cleared me. Then the church called me to account and dealt with me for schism, that I rent from the church. I told them, I did not rend from them, for they put me away. Master Sims was very earnest for another admonition for schism, which most of the church were against; but it seems he set it down for an admonition on a bit of paper. This continued for a long time before they called me out again. In the meantime, I had some friends who came to me out of old England, who were Baptists, and desired to meet at my house of a First-day, which I granted. Of these was myself, my wife and Thomas Osburne, that were of their church. Afterwards they called me forth and asked why I kept the meeting in private on the Lord's day, and did not come to the public? My answer was, I know not what reason the church had to call me forth. They asked me if I was not a member of that church? I told them they had not acted toward me as a member, who had put me by the ordinances of Christ seven years ago; . . . they had denied me the privileges of a member. They asked me whether I looked upon admonition as an appointment of Christ? I told them, Yes, but not to lie under it above seven years, and to be put by the ordinances of Christ in the church; for the rule of Christ is first to deal with men in the first and second place, and then in the third place before the church; but the first time they ever dealt with me, they called me before the whole church. Many meetings we had about this thing, whether I was a member or not, but could come to no conclusion; for I still affirmed that their actings rendered me no member. Then Mr. Sims told the church that I was ripe for excommunication, and [he] was very earnest for it; but the church would not consent. Then I desired that we might send to other churches for their help to hear the thing betwixt us; but

Master Sims made me this answer: We are a church of Christ ourselves, and you shall know that we have power to deal with you ourselves. Then said Mr. Russell, We have not gone the right way to gain this our brother, for we have dealt too harshly with him. But still Master Sims pressed the church to excommunicate me. Mr. Russell said, There were greater errors in the church in the apostles' time, and yet they did not so deal with them. Mr. Sims asked him what they were? He said, How say some of you that there is no resurrection of the dead? Mr. Sims was troubled and said, I wonder you will bring this place of Scripture to encourage him in his error? Mr. Sims was earnest for another admonition. Then stood up Solomon Phips and said, You may clap one admonition on him upon another, but to what end, for he was admonished about seven years ago! Mr. Sims said, Brother! do you make such a light matter of admonition, to say, Clap them one upon another? Doth not the apostle say, After the first and second admonition reject an heretic? therefore there might be a second admonition. It was answered, it was a hard matter to prove a man a heretic, for every error doth not make a man a heretic. Mr. Sims said, It was not seven years ago, nor above three, since I was admonished, and that was for schism. A brother replied and said, it was seven years since I was admonished. On that there was some difference in the church what I was admonished for. Mr. Sims then pulled a bit of paper out of his pocket and said, This is that he was admonished for, and that was but three years since. Brother Phips asked him when that paper was writ, for he never heard of that admonition before? He answered, he set it down for his own memory; then he read it, that it was for schism, and rending from the church. I told him that I did not rend from the church, but the church put me away from them, and that was four years before this. Then there was much agitation when the admonition was given, and what it was for? And this was all the church records that could be found, which was about seven years after the admonition was given; so after many words we broke up, which was the last time we met together. Now let any man judge of the church records that were drawn up against me, and read at the dispute in Boston, which contained three or four sheets of paper; read by Mr. Shepard, and drawn up



by him a little while before the dispute, who was not an eye nor ear witness to the church's actings not above half the time.

Now after this, considering with myself what the Lord would have me to do; not likely to join with any of the churches of New England any more, and so to be without the ordinances of Christ; in the meantime God sent out of Old England some who were Baptists; we, consulting together what to do, sought the Lord to direct us, and taking counsel of other friends who dwelt among us, who were able and godly, they gave us counsel to congregate ourselves together; and so we did, being nine of us, to walk in the order of the gospel according to the rule of Christ, yet knowing that it was a breach of the law of this country; that we had not the approbation of magistrates and ministers, for that we suffered the penalty of that law, when we were called before them. After we had been called into one or two Courts, the church understanding that we were gathered into church order, they sent three messengers from the church to me, telling me the church required me to come before them the next Lord's day. I replied, The church had nothing to do with me, for they had put me from them eight years before. They replied, that they had nothing to do with that, but were sent by the church to tell me it was the mind of the church to speak with me. I told them I was joined to another church, and that church was not willing I should come to them, they having nothing to do with me, therefore I would not come without the church's consent. Then they departed. The next week they sent three messengers more, who came to my house and told me that the church had sent them to require me to come to the church the next Lord's day after. I told them that the church had nothing to do to require me to come, who had put me from them eight years, and the church I now walked with would not let me come. They told me again that if I did not come, the church would proceed against me the next Lord's day. I told them that I could not come for we were to break bread the next Lord's day. They told me that they would return my answer to the church. One of them asked if I would come the next Lord's day after? But another presently said, We have no such order from the church; so they departed. The last day of that week three loving friends coming to me of their own

account, one of them was pleased to say to me, Brother Gould, though you look upon it as unjust for them to cast you out, yet there be many that are godly among them, that will act with them through ignorance, which will be a sin of them, and you are persuaded, I believe, that it is your duty to prevent any one from any sinful act; for they will cast you out for not hearing the church; now your coming will stop them from acting against you, and so keep many from that sin. Upon these words I was clearly convinced that it was my duty to go, and replied, Although I could not come the next day, yet I promised them that if I was alive and well, I would come the next Lord's day if the Lord permit. He replied, What if the church I was joined to was not willing? I told him I did not question that any one would be against it upon this ground. After I had propounded it to the church, not one was against it. I entreated these friends to make it known to the elders that I would come to them the next Lord's day after; yet, though they knew of it, they proceeded against me that day, and delivered me up to Satan for not hearing the church.



CHAPTER IV

Organization of the Church. Baptism. Constituent Members. Confession of Faith. Before the Court.



IV

For nearly ten years, meetings[1] of those who held Baptist doctrines had been maintained in private houses in Charlestown and Boston. These meetings were strictly forbidden, but nevertheless were regularly held. The law was not strenuously enforced, probably because these assemblies had not yet passed on into an organized church. A meeting held in Thomas Goold's house on Sunday, November 8, 1663, at which were present Goold and his wife, Osborne and his wife, and others, seems to have been especially obnoxious to the authorities, both in Church and State, and called forth immediate and vigorous action. But even yet extreme severity was not used. Amazing inquisition into their assemblies and accompanying threats were the deterrent means employed.

It is not known why so long a delay occurred in the final organization of the church, but in June, 1665, such an organization was finally perfected, probably in the house of Thomas Goold, and proceeded to exercise all the functions of an orderly church, and especially to observe the ordinances. It was a time of mingled hope and fear. It required no small faith and courage to expect success in their perilous venture. They were a little band, and the whole colony was hostile. They could scarcely hope to remain un-

[1] "Witness Thomas Gold's private meetings in his own house for many years." *Vide* Willard, "*Ne Suter Ultra Crepidam*," p. 22.

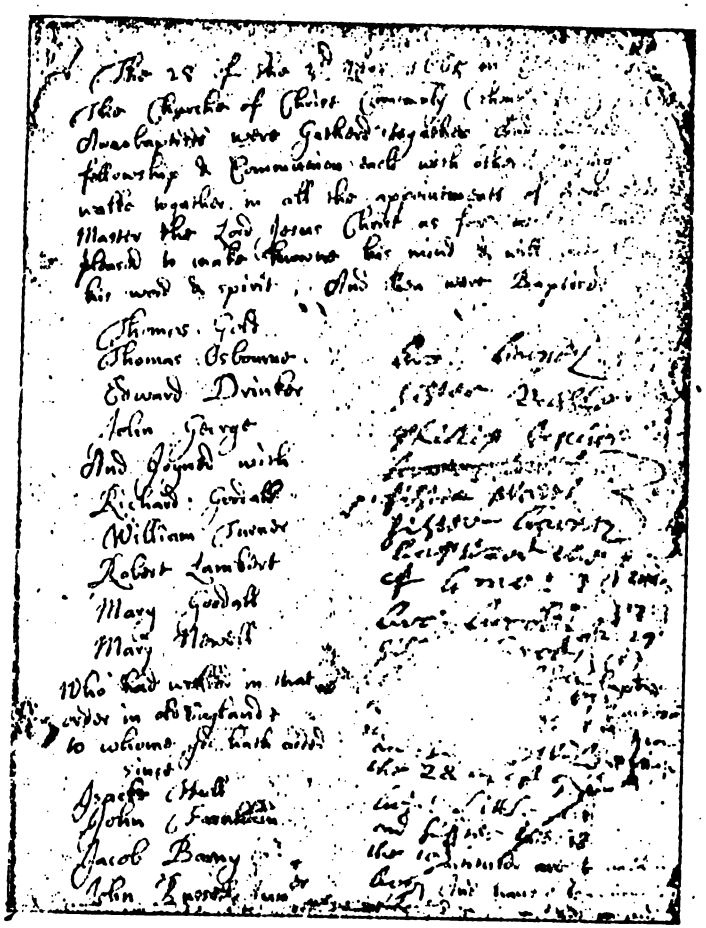


observed, even though they were few, because already they had repeatedly fallen under the public disfavor of the Court. To perfect an independent church organization was, therefore, the extreme of daring and the last step of open rupture with the Standing Order.

The first record on our Church Book reads:

The 28 of the 3d mo. *1665* in Charlestowne, Massachusetts, the Churche of Christ, commonly (though falsely) called Anabaptiste were gathered togather And entered into fellowship & communion each with other, Ingaigeing to walke togather in all the appointments of there Lord & Master the Lord Jesus Christ as farre as hee should bee pleased to make known his mind & will unto them by his word & Spirit, And then were Baptized

Thomas Gold
Thomas Osbourne
Edward Drinker
John George
And joyned with
Richard Goodall
William Turner
Robert Lambert
Mary Goodall
Mary Newell
who had walked in that
order in old England
to whom god hath added
since
Isacke Hull
John Farnham
Jacob Barny
John Russell Junr
John Johnson
George Farlow
Benjamin Sweetser
Sister Sweetser



FIRST ENTRY IN THE RECORD BOOK OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF BOSTON, 1665.



Eles Callender in 9th mo 1669
Joshua Turner
Bro : Foster
John Russell Senr
Bro : Hamlet
Thomas Skinner, etc.

Thomas Osborne and his wife were received into the Charlestown Church 10th day, 7th month, 1644, and again on the 23d day, 12th month, 1661, the last time upon letters of dismission from the Malden Church. They speedily became familiar with the discipline of Thomas Goold, and their attention was arrested by the clear grounds of Scripture upon which he stood. They themselves soon became "leavened with principles of Anabaptisme," and absented themselves when the ordinance of infant baptism was administered. It was only a few months after their last admission to membership in the church that they were admonished for holding the same views as Goold. Henceforth Goold and Osborne were close associates in doctrinal fellowship, in devotion to their convictions and in sufferings. Osborne was a citizen of property and of good standing in the community, and, like Goold, was a man of an exceedingly resolute spirit, which persecutions could not daunt. Oppositions could not turn him from his chosen path. Edward Drinker was a potter by trade, and carried on an extensive business in the colony in pottery wares. In 1652 he was appointed a constable of Charlestown. His house was a frequent rendezvous of Baptists and those who sympathized with them. He rendered very signal service to the colony at a time when it was



greatly imperiled. He was often in prison because of his Baptist views. John George was a chimney cleaner; little is known of him. He died September 12, 1666, a little more than a year after the church was organized, and hence escaped the worst of the persecutions. He was, indeed, both fined and banished, but his early death gave him release from the power of an earthly court. Both Drinker and George had been many years in the colony, but had never before connected themselves with any church.

Drinker in later years won applause as an officer of a troop (largely recruited among the outlawed Baptists) which went to defend the colony at an exceedingly critical time against an attack of the Indians. His commanding officer and captain of the company was William Turner (also a Baptist), whose name appears sixth on our list. Captain Turner laid down his life for the colony at the fierce and decisive battle which took place at Deerfield, in the Connecticut Valley, in 1676. Richard Goodall was a shipmaster, and commanded a ketch or freighting boat, which ran between Boston and New Haven. He had been a member of Mr. William Kiffen's Baptist church in London. He appears to have settled in Newbury as early as 1638, and to have finally made his home in Salisbury in 1639–40. William Turner and Robert Lambert had been members of Mr. Stead's Baptist Church in Dartmouth, England. Two women only united in this early church fellowship, Mary Goodall, wife of Richard, and Mistress Mary Newell, both of whom had been Baptists in Old England, and seem to have well considered the fierce trial into which they

were entering when they put their names on the roll of the new church.

This little group of baptized believers, nine in number, seven men and two women (the two Marys), met in the house of Thomas Goold for their organization. They were not the only Baptists of whom we have knowledge in Boston and vicinity at this time, but they are the immortal group who had the courage to declare, by this formal organization, their deathless convictions and their readiness to endure whatever such declaration might bring upon them. Is it too much to believe that the spirit of the sainted ex-President Henry Dunster met with them, and rejoiced in the planting of views for which he had suffered so much? It is worthy of notice that twenty-two (fourteen men and eight women) others united with the church prior to 1671, and while the storm of persecution was most pitiless. They were courageous souls, "who obeyed God rather than men."

It is not known who baptized Goold, Osborne, Drinker, and George. It is possible that Rev. John Myles, a Baptist minister from Wales, who had located in Swansea, Massachusetts, and gathered about him a Baptist church, might have been present. We know that he often visited Boston and preached for the church, and that some years later he might have become their pastor, if he had been willing to listen to their overtures. Dr. John Clarke, pastor at Newport, who at one time had been a resident of Boston, may have been present. He was widely known as a Baptist minister, for he had been in prison in Boston in 1651 for preaching and baptizing in Lynn. The after



connection of this church with the Newport Church was close and continuous.

Thomas Olney, pastor in Providence, had formerly lived in Salem, and could not have been ignorant of what was passing in Boston. All is conjecture, for no definite information has come down to us. It would have been entirely in keeping with their well-known views of the "right of individual liberty to prophesie," if one of their own number, who was already baptized, had been chosen to administer the ordinance to those who had not been immersed. In this regard, they would have followed the well-known example of Roger Williams at Providence, with the difference that some of their number had been members of Baptist churches in Old England, although none of them were ordained ministers.

The question has been raised whether "dipping in water" was the form of baptism used at the organization of this church. The same question has been raised in regard to the form of the baptism of Mr. Roger Williams at Providence, and also in regard to the usage among Baptists in Old England prior to 1642. It is certain that Goold and Osborne were rebaptized, for they had both been members of the Charlestown Church. It is certain that all who had been previously members of Pedobaptist churches were rebaptized into this church. Thomas Foster, whose name appears twentieth on our list, was one of the founders and leading members of the church in Billerica. He became a Baptist, and was most severely reproached because he was "rebaptized"[1] when he

[1] Willard, "*Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam*," p. 17.

united with this church. This was regarded as especially a reproach cast upon the Billerica Church, from which he was excommunicated. The rebaptism always insisted on as a prerequisite to membership in this church was peculiarly irritating to the Puritan churches. This fact would not, however, be wholly decisive in regard to the mode of baptism. The first record of this church uses the word "baptized," which is, of course, open to three meanings according to long English usage.

In 1640, Rev. Charles Chauncy, later the second president of Harvard College, settled for a time at Plymouth and afterward at Scituate. Before his installation at Plymouth "he discovered his judgment about baptism, that the children ought to be dipped and not sprinkled. There arose much trouble about it."[1] In Scituate he persevered in his opinion, although "the church had refuted his doctrine, and dipped two of his own children."[2] His views made a great stir, and were considered a great encouragement to the "schismatical Anabaptists," who, however, never baptized children by any mode. Afterward he accepted the presidency of Harvard College at the price of silence concerning his views. The promulgation of such heretical views in Scituate, and the following which they undoubtedly gained for themselves, would be sufficient explanation of the retirement of ex-President Dunster to that place, when he was deposed from Harvard College in 1654.

In 1651, when John Clarke was apprehended and

[1] Winthrop, "Journal," Vol. I., pp. 330, 331.
[2] Winthrop, "Journal," Vol. II., p. 72.



cast into Boston jail, he put forth as one of the views of the Baptists, and as the thesis which he desired to discuss with the ministers of Boston, the following:

> I testify that baptism or dipping in water is one of the commandments of this Lord Jesus Christ—that is, one that manifesteth faith in Jesus Christ is the only person that is to be baptized or dipped with that visible baptism or dipping of Jesus Christ in water.

This would seem to be sufficiently explicit, but Clarke goes on further to say:

> Although there be frequent mention made of that appointment of Christ in his last will and Testament, yet it is never expressed by the word that may be rendered *rantism*, or sprinkling, but by the word that is rendered *baptism*, or dipping.[1]

This was the mode of baptism practised at Newport and Lynn. Clarke was the most representative Baptist of that time, and assuredly expressed the received Baptist view of the mode of baptism which Baptists practised. Clarke and the Newport Church were in fellowship with the Providence Church, and in close fellowship with the church in Boston without dissent when it was organized in 1665.

"But these wicked Sectarians deny this Sacrament and compel their adherents to renounce their Baptism, and to be dipt again in their prophane waters."[2] This is an enemy's statement of the usual mode of baptism among Baptists.

It is evident, therefore, that baptism among Baptists meant "the immersion of a believer," and never

[1] Clarke, "Narrative," pp. 50–52.
[2] Mr. Baxter, "Baptis'd in Bloud," p. 3. *Vide* also p. 1.

any other mode. There is no record of any change of usage in this church from its foundation unto the present time. If there had been such change, either friends or enemies would have been quick to point it out. It is an interesting circumstance that the first two presidents of Harvard College, who were among the most learned and distinguished men in the Puritan colony, should have been "infected with the heresie of Anabaptisme."

In this simple way did these men and women organize this First Baptist Church, which became the steadfast forerunner, and the final obtainer of religious liberty in this commonwealth of Massachusetts. During the first five years of its history the church never numbered more than eighteen members, every one of whom was a peaceful and industrious citizen. The wife of only one of the original members came into the fellowship of the church. Thomas Goold's second wife, Mary, who did not unite with the church until about 1670, was certainly in sympathy with her husband, as her vigorous protest and appeal to the authorities in 1668, when he was in prison, abundantly show. The wife of Thomas Osborne was also in sympathy with her husband, as the records of discipline of the Charlestown Church testify. We do not know why they did not become members of the church, unless because their husbands dissuaded them through dread of the storm of persecution which was certain to follow. For eighteen years such storm did rage around this devoted little band as might well make husbands wish to protect their families and spare them from its fury. The power of the General Court and of the



Puritan ministers (with some noble exceptions) was put forth to crush them or banish them from the colony. They were obliged to meet, sometimes in Charlestown, sometimes in Boston, sometimes on Noddle's Island (now East Boston) in the harbor, but always in private houses and under the most watchful surveillance.

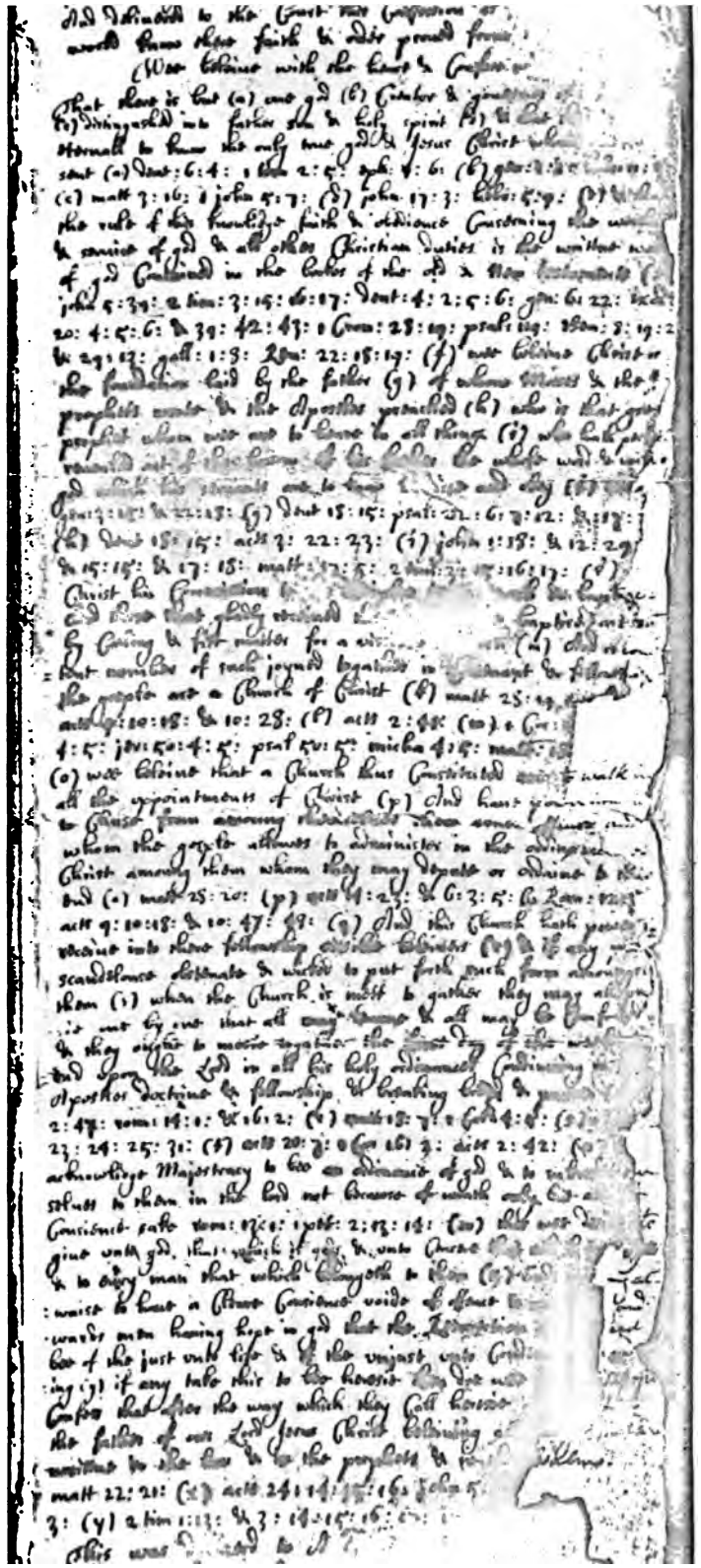
There is an interesting entry in the records of the Roxbury Church, in the handwriting of John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians and pastor of the church.

July–August, 1665. The Anabaptists gathered y^m^s into a church, prophesied one by one, & some one amongst y^m^ administered y^e^ Lords Supper after he was regularly excommunicated by y^e^ ch. at Charlestown.[1] They also set up a lecture at Drinkers house once a fortnight. They were admonished by y^e^ court of Assista [ ].[2]

The church was organized June 7, 1665 (new style), and on August 20 Richard Russell, Esq., issued a warrant to the constable of Charlestown requiring him in his majesty's name to labor to discover where these people assembled, and to require them to attend the established worship. If they refused they were to have their names and places of residence returned to the nearest magistrate. They were discovered, refused to give up their own meetings, and were consequently brought before the Court of Assistants in the "seventh month" (September), where they exhibited their Confession of Faith, which has remained unaltered as the received Confession of Faith of this church unto this day:

[1] Thomas Goold.
[2] "Original Records First Church, Roxbury."







[redacted]

The church being gathered mett with great opposition from the government of the place, upon which they drew up and delivered to the Court this confession as followeth to let the world know there faith & order proved from the word of God.

Wee believe with the heart & confess with the mouth that there is but (a) one god (b) Creator & governor of all things (c) distinguished into father, Son, & holy spirit (d) & that this is life eternall to know the only true god & Jesus Christ whom hee hath sent (a) Deut. 6 : 4 : 1 tim. 2 : 5 : Eph. 4 : 6 : (b) gen. 1 : 1 : hebs 11 : 3 : (c) matt. 8 : 16 : 1 John 5 : 7 : (d) John 17 : 3 : heb's 5 : 9 : (d) & that the rule of this knowledge faith & obedience concerning the worship & service of god & all other christian duties is the written word of god contained in the bookes of the old & new testaments (e) John 5 : 39 : 2 tim 3 : 15 : 16 : 17 : deut : 4 : 2 : 5 : 6 : gen : 6 : 22 exd : 20 : 4 : 5 : 6 : & 39 : 42 : 43 1 chron : 28 : 19 ; psal : 119 : ezra : 8 : 19 : 20 & 27 : 13 : gall : 1 : 8 : Rev 22 : 18 : 19 : (f) wee believe Christ is the foundation laid by the father (g) of whom moses and the prophets wrote & the apostles preached (h) who is that great prophet whom wee are to heare in all things (i) who hath perfectly revealed out of the bossom of his father the whole word and will of god which his servants are to know believe and obey (f) gen 3 : 15 : & 22 : 18 : (g) deut : 18 : 15 : psal : 22 : 6 : 7 : 12 : & 17 (h) deut : 18 : 15 : acts 3 : 22 : 23 : (i) john 1 : 18 : & 12 : 29 : & 15 : 15 & 17 : 18 : matt : 17 : 5 : 2 tim : 3 : 15 : 16 : 17 : (k) Christ his commission to his desciples is to teach & baptise (l) And those that gladly received the word & are baptised are saints by calling & fitt matter for a vissible church (m) And a competent number of such joyned together in covenant & fellowship of the gosple are a Church of Christ (k) matt : 28 : 19 : acts 9 : 10 : 18 : & 10 : 28 : (l) acts 2 : 41 : (m) I cor 1 : 1 : 2 : 4 : 5 : jer : 50 : 4 : 5 : psal : 50 : 5 : micha 4 : 5 : matt : 18 : 15 : 20 (o) wee believe that a church thus constituted are to walk in all the appointments of Christ (p) And have power from him to chuse from among themselves there owne officers whom the gosple allowes to administer in the ordinances of Christ among them whom they may depute or ordaine to this end (o) matt 28 : 20 : (p) acts 14 : 23 & 6 : 3 : 5 : 6 : Rom 12 : 4 : 8 : acts 9 : 10 : 18 & 10 : 47 : 48 : (q) And this church hath power to receive into there fellowship



vissible believers (r) & if any prove scandelouse obstenate & wicked to put forth such from amongst them (s) when the church is mett together they may all propesie one by one that all may all learne & all may be comforted (t) & they ought to meete together the first day of the weeke to attend upon the Lord in all his holy ordinances continuing in the Apostles doctrine & fellowship & breaking bread & praise (q) rom : 14 : 1 & 16 : 2 : (r) matt 18 : 7 : 1 cor : 4 : 5 : (s) 1 cor : 14 : 23 : 24 : 25 : 31 : (t) acts 20 : 7 : 1 cor : 16 : 2 : acts 2 : 42 : (v) wee acknowlidge majestracy to bee an ordinance of god & to submitt ourselves to them in the lord not becawse of wrath only but also for consience sake rom : 13 : 1 1 pet : 2 : 13 : 14 (w) thus wee desire to give unto god that which is gods & unto ceascre that which is ceaseres & to every man that which belongeth to them (x) endeavoring alwaise to have a cleare consience voide of offence towards god & towards men having hope in god that the resurection of the dead bee of the just unto life & of the unjust unto condemnation everlasting (y) if any take this to bee heresie then doe wee with the apostles confess that after the way which they call heresie wee worship the father of our Lord Jesus Christ believing all things that are written in the law & in the prophets & in the psalms (w) matt : 22 : 21 (x) acts 24 : 14 : 15 : 16 : john 5 : 28 (y) 2 tim : 1 : 13 : & 3 : 14 : 15 : 16 : 17 : matt : 10 : 32. This was delivered to A Court of Assistants on the . . . of the seventh month *1665*.

This Confession of Faith is notable for its simplicity, comprehensiveness, and biblicalness, but it did not please the Court, which charged the Baptists "to desist from their schismatical practises." The Baptists were as stubborn as the Court, and continued to meet as a church of Christ. When the General Court met the next month (October 11), they ordered to appear before them Goold, Osborne, Drinker, Turner, and George, who laid before them the same Confession of Faith which they had presented before the Court of Assistants. Its closing confession and plea,

if any take this to bee heresie then doe wee with the apostles confess that after the way which they call heresie wee worship the father of our Lord Jesus Christ believing all things that are written in the law & in the prophets, & in the psalms,

were of no avail with the Court, as the following statement and action show:

Att the sessions of the General Court at Boston the 11th of October, *1665*, whereas at the last Court of Assistants, Thomas Gold & his company, sundry of them, were openly convicted of schismattically rending from the communion of the Churches here & setting up a publicke meeting in opposition to the ordinances of Christ here Publickly Exercised & were sollemnly charged not to persist in such their pernitious practises, yet this not wthstanding (as this Court is informed) they doe still persist in Contemning the Authority established. It is therefore ordered that the aforesayd Gold & Company bee summoned before this Court to give an Account of such theire irregular practises, together wth theire Celebrating the Lord's Supper by an excommunicate person. Warrant issued out accordingly. The partye appeared. After a due hearing what they had to say, the Court proceeded, whereas Thomas Gold, William Turner, Edward Drincker, Thomas Osborne & John George, being summoned before the last Court of Assistants held at Boston in September last, were legally Convicted of Schismatticall opposition to the Churches of Christ heere settled & of profaning the holy appointments of Christ & in speciall the Sacraments of Baptisme & the Lord's Supper by Administering the same to persons under censure of an Approved Church among us, & presuming as a covert of these theire irreligious and pernitious practises doe declare themselves to bee a Church of Christ. On Consideration whereof the Court sollemnly admonished the Sayd Persons of theire great evill, in attempting with soe high a hand to pollute & profane God's holy ordinances, they being not only private, but also some of them excommunicate persons, that have intermeddled in the Administration of these Ordinances that are proper only to office trust. And also the sayd Court sollemnly charged them that for the future, they



desist from such theire meeting, & irreligious practises, as they would Answer the contrary at theire perill. And whereas Tho^{s} Gold, William Turner, Tho^{s} Osborne, Edw^{d} Drincker & Jn^{o} George, were summoned before this Court & by theire owne Acknowledgement doe stand convicted of non observation & submission unto the above sayd sentence & charge of the Court of Assistants, professing theire resolution yet further to procede in such theire irregular practises, thereby as well contemning the Authority & Lawes heere established for the maintenance of Godliness & honesty, as continuing in the profanation of God's holy ordinances. This Court taking the premises into theire serious consideration, do judge meete to declare that the sayd Gold & Company are noe orderly Church Assembly & that they stand justly convicted of high presumption against the Lord & his holy appointments: as also the peace of this Government against which this Court doth Account themselves Bound to God, to his truth & his Churches heere planted, to beare theire Testimony. And doe therefore sentence the sayd Gold, Osborne, Drincker, Turner & George, such of them as are freemen to bee disfranchised, & all of them upon conviction, before any one magistrate or Court, of theire further proceeding herein to bee committed to Prison, untill the Generall Court shall take further order wth them.

Attest, Edw: Rawson, secrety.[1]

But they still continued to meet together in their own church fellowship, and steadily absented themselves from the established worship. Hence on April 7, 1666, they were presented by the Grand Jury to the County Court at Cambridge "for absenting themselves from worship." They declared, in answer, that they were a publique meeting according to the order of Christ Jesus gathered together."[1] Thomas Osborne answered that "the reason of his non-attendance was that the Lord hath discovered unto him from his word and spirit of truth that the society where-

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."

with he is now in communion is more agreeable to the word of God, asserted that they were a church and attended the worship of God together, and do judge themselves bound so to do, the ground whereof he said he gave in to the General Court. Thomas Goold answered that as for coming to public worship, they did meet in public worship according to the rule of Christ, the grounds whereof they had given to the Court of Assistants, asserted that they were a public meeting according to the order of Christ Jesus, gathered together. John George answered that he did attend the public meetings on the Lord's days where he was a member, asserted that they were a church according to the order of Christ in the gospel, and with them he walked and held communion in the public worship of God on the Lord's days."[1]

The Court declared that their attendance on worship "was not in a lawful way," and Goold, Osborne, and George were each fined four pounds therefor, and ordered to bind themselves in a bond of twenty pounds apiece for their appearance at the next Court of Assistants. They refused to pay the fine and were committed to prison. The Court of Assistants met and sentenced them to pay their fines and costs of Court, and said that if they would do this, they should be set at liberty, but added that "the Order of Court of October, 1665, referring to said schismattical assembly shall be and hereby is declared to be in full force."[2] It is not known how soon they were released from prison, but on October 24, 1666, warrants were put

[1] "Mass. Hist.," Vol. III., pp. 400, 401. Backus, Vol. I., p. 299.
[2] "Mass. Records."

into the hands of the Charlestown constables, "to obtain the names of such [Anabaptists] as you shall find met together."[1] During this summer they met sometimes in Charlestown and sometimes on Noddle's Island (East Boston). Henry Shrimpton, a member of the First Church in Boston, a man of property and honorable standing, evidently did not sympathize with the persecutions of the Baptists, for in his will, dated July 17, 1666, occurs the following clause: "To the society of Christians that doth now meet at Noddle's Island, of w^ch^ is Gold & Osborne & the rest, ten pounds, as a token of my love." It is doubtful if they ever received the ten pounds, for the Court would scarcely give them so much legal recognition as to admit that they were a "regular society." Hitherto the Court had directed its penalties against the male members only of the church, but on April 9, 1666, the constable of Charlestown "warnes Thomas Goold, Thomas Osborne & his wife & Mrs. Newell to appear at next session of Court."[2] March 10, 1667, the constable "warnes John Thrumbes, Thomas Goold, Ja^s^ Goold, James Barrett, Steven Raynor, Robert Leethy, Thomas Mansall, John Foskett for not paying their dues towards the upholding the ministry of God's word in ye place." June 4, 1667, William Johnson, Constable of Charlestown, "is required to warne Thomas Goold & his wife, Benanuel Bowers and his wife, Thomas Osborne and his wife, Stephen Baker, Mr. John Thrumble, Mrs. Newell for their persistency in non attendance on the Publick worship of God on ye

[1] "State Archives," Vol. X., p. 224.
[2] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."

Lord's Dayes,"[1] and on June 15th the same constable "levies on Thomas Goold a fine of three pounds, Mrs. Newell three pounds, Thomas Osborne three pounds for absence from the ordinances of publick worship at the towne upon the Lord's Day."[1]

The Court had no penalties for men and women who did not attend upon public worship at all, and who wholly ignored the public teachings of religion. To this extent religion in its exercises was voluntary in the colony. But if any man or company of men chose to observe religious exercises, they were permitted to do it only in the way established by the Puritan churches. There was no penalty for being non-religious, but there were penalties for being religious in any other way than the Congregational way. The high prelatical notions of the Puritan Church made it peculiarly grievous that a man who had not been ordained by them should baptize and administer the Lord's Supper. These functions belonged only "to office trust," and it was gross sacrilege to exercise them out of the regular and authorized way. The high church ideas of the Puritans concerning the ordinances were little less prelatical than those of the Roman Church. Their ideas concerning a religious theocracy were even more strict than those of the Roman Church.

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."





CHAPTER V

MANNER OF DISSENT. PUBLIC DISPUTATION. IN PRISON. APPEAL. MANNER OF WORSHIP. REMOVAL TO NODDLE'S ISLAND.



V

"THE heresie of Anabaptisme" kept spreading in every direction in spite of all efforts for its suppression. The constable of Woburn, June 5, 1667 was ordered "to warn John Johnson, John Russell, Jr., George Polly, Richard Nevers, for turning their back on ye ordinance of Baptisme."[1] This seems to have been a favorite method at that period of exhibiting the strongest dissent from the practice of infant baptism. To stand in the assembly with one's back turned toward the minister when he administered the ordinance, was an emphatic statement, without words, of the dissenter's opinion of the ordinance. Sometimes the dissenter would rise and walk out of the assembly in so unmistakable a manner that all knew what it signified. Both of these modes of expression were peculiarly irritating to the members of the Standing Order, and in these days of greater formality and decorum in public worship would seem unpardonably rude. But according to the customs of that time it was not regarded as a breach of good manners. It only advertised as widely as possible the dissenter's doctrinal opinions, and at once gave occasion for doctrinal discussion.

It is not difficult to picture to one's self the curiosity, the agitation, and the vexation in an assembly, when, as the minister was proceeding with solemn and

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."

hushed attention to christen a child, some prominent citizen and neighbor of Baptist proclivities would slowly arise and adjusting hat and cloak would walk resoundingly across the uncarpeted and creaking floor, making each heavy step toward the door speak his vigorous protest. The Puritans were by nature and practice an emphatic folk, and the dissenters, who were of the same English stock and training, did not lose any of their emphatic peculiarity because of their dissent. Some of the names of these Woburn men will appear again in this history. When the Court of Assistants met in Boston, March 3, 1668, the case of Thomas Goold came up as plaintiff on appeal from the judgment of the last County Court in Charlestown, and to the surprise of all, when the case was laid before the jury, it brought in a verdict in favor of Goold, and thus reversed the verdict of the lower Court. The Court refused to accept the verdict of the jury and sent them out for a reconsideration. Under this rebuke and compulsion, the jury brought in a qualified verdict against him, and the Court at once affirmed the judgment. He refused to pay the fine and was thereupon committed to prison.

This difficulty of getting the desired verdict from the jury evidently brought the Court to its sober second thought. They reflected that all their action hitherto had availed nothing in suppressing Baptists, but had rather spread their doctrines, and that when juries were beginning to sympathize with their persecuted townsmen, it was time to pursue a different and more effectual course. On March 7, 1668, they put forth the following declaration:

The Governor and Council, accounting themselves bound by the law of God, and of this Commonwealth, to protect the churches of Christ here planted, from the intrusion thereby made upon their peace in the ways of godliness, yet being willing by all Christian candor to endeavor the reducing of the said persons from the error of their way, and their return to the Lord and the communion of his people from whence they are fallen, do judge meet to grant unto Thomas Goold, John Farnum, Thomas Osborn, and company, yet further an opportunity of a full and free debate, of their grounds for their practice: and for that end this court doth nominate and request the Rev. Mr. John Allen (Dedham), Mr. Thomas Cobbett (Lynn), Mr. John Higginson (Salem), Mr. Samuel Danforth (Roxbury), Mr. Jonathan Mitchel (Cambridge), and Mr. Thomas Shepard (Charlestown), to assemble with the Governor and magistrates, upon the 14th day of the next month, in the meeting house at Boston, at nine in the morning: before whom, or so many of them, with any other the Reverend elders or ministers, as shall there assemble, the above said persons and their company shall have liberty, freely and fully, in open assembly, to present their grounds as above said, in an orderly debate of this following question: Whether it be justifiable by the word of God for these persons and their company to depart from the communion of these churches, and to set up an assembly here in the way of Anabaptisme, and whether such a practice is to be allowed by the government of this jurisdiction: To Thomas Goold: You are hereby required in his Majesty's name, according to the order of the Council above written, to give notice thereof to John Farnum, Senior, Thomas Osborn and the company, and you and they are alike required to give your attendance, at the time and place above mentioned, for the end therein expressed.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.[1]

This was the opportunity for which Baptists had often preferred requests, from the time of Dr. John Clarke's imprisonment until their last appearance before a civil court, but hitherto they had never obtained

[1] Backus, "History," Vol. I., p. 301.



[redacted]

was not to convince by reason and the Scriptures, but to overpower by authority and to awe by haughty threatenings. This entry occurs in Capt. Hull's Diary:

April 18, 1668. This General Court of Election, Thomas Goold, William Turner, John Farnum were called before them: asked whether, after all pains taken to convince them of their evils, they would lay down their assemblings and cease profaning the holy ordinances—the supper and baptism; but with great obstinacy they professed themselves bound to continue in these ways and were ready to seal it with their blood.

Men who had already suffered so much could not now be put down by a show of authority, and threats were not persuasive. When the Court met in Boston on May 7 following, it proceeded to the next and oft-used argument:

Whereas the Council did, in March last, for their further conviction, appoint a meeting of divers elders, and required the said persons to attend the said meeting, which was held here in Boston, with a great concourse of people, the effect whereof hath not been prevalent with them as we could have desired, . . this Court, being sensible of their duty to God and the country, and being desirous that their proceedings in this great cause might be clear and regular, do order that the said Goold and company be required to appear before this Court, that the Court may understand from themselves, whether upon the means used or other considerations, they have altered their former declared resolution, and are willing to desist from their former offensive practice, that accordingly a meete and effectual remedy may be applied to so dangerous a malady.

When the Baptists appeared in Court, they declared their views to be unaltered, whereupon the Court proceeds:

Whereas Thomas Goold, William Turner and John Farnum, Senior, obstinate and turbulent Anabaptists, have some time since combined themselves with others in a pretended church estate, without the knowledge and approbation of the authority here established, to the great grief and offense of the godly orthodox, etc., . . this Court do judge it necessary that they be removed to some other part of this country, or elsewhere, and according doth order that they remove themselves out of this jurisdiction before July 20th next.[1]

If they were found after that date in the colony, they were to be arrested and put in prison, without bail, until they should give sufficient security that they would banish themselves. They were forbidden to hold any meetings before the time of their final banishment, or to exercise any ecclesiastical functions. Not more than two of their friends, at any one time, were allowed to visit them in prison. But the Council had to deal with men as determined as themselves. The Baptists were men of English stock and English tradition as well as the magistrates, and, in addition, were reinforced in their resoluteness by profound convictions founded upon the Holy Scriptures. They neither banished themselves from Massachusetts nor refrained from holding their religious assemblies. That passionate love of liberty which has always been characteristic of Baptists in every land made them ready to die for it, but never ready to surrender matters of faith and spiritual life to the tyranny of civil authority. They were soon arrested and thrust into prison, from which, after some months of weary waiting, they sent the following manly and touching letter to the Court:

[1] "Massachusetts Records."



Oct. 14, 1668. Honored Sirs: After the tenders of our service according to Christ, his command, to yourselves and the country, we thought it our duty and concernment to present your honors with these few lines, to put you in remembrance of our bonds: and this being the twelfth week of our imprisonment, we should be glad if it might be thought to stand with the honor and safety of the country, and the present government thereof, to be now at liberty. For we doe hereby seriously profess that as far as we are sensible or know anything of our own hearts, we do prefer their peace and safety above our own, however we have been represented otherwise: and wherein we differ in point of judgment, we humbly beseech you let there be a bearing with us, till you shall reveal otherwise to us: For there is a spirit in man and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding. Therefore, if we are in the dark, we dare not say that we doe see or understand till the Lord shall clear things up to us. And to him, we can appeal to clear up our innocence as touching the government both in our civil and church affairs, that it was never in our hearts to think of doing the least wrong to either; but have and, we hope by your assistance, shall always endeavor to keep a conscience void of offence toward God and man: And if it shall be thought meet to afford us our liberty, that we may take that care, as becomes us, of our families, we shall engage ourselves to be always in a readiness to resign up our persons to your pleasure. Hoping your honors will be pleased seriously to consider our condition, we shall commend both you and it to the wise disposing and blessing of the Almighty, and remain your honors faithful servants in what we may,

THO: GOOLD
WILL: TURNER
JOHN FARNAM.[1]

This petition, whose words and spirit do not seem like those of turbulent and seditious men, did not bring their release, nor did their imprisonment make the authorities relent in their persecuting quest after

[1] "Mass. Archives."

other members of the church. It is easy to guess that the members of this flock gathered from day to day in their accustomed meeting-place to pray that the prison doors might be opened and their beloved leaders be set at liberty. They would read over again the story of the Apostle Peter's imprisonment as told in the Acts, and like the early disciples would offer "prayer without ceasing" unto God for them. The Council became aware of such meetings and forthwith issued the following warrant:

To the constable of Charles-Towne.

Whereas it is credibly reported that there is a company of persons who ordinarily meete on ye Sabbath Dayes within ye limits of y^e^ Towne (turning their backs on ye Publique assemblys for the worship of the Lord according to his holy institutions here established) in a schismattical way & contempt of ye order of ye generale court that have prohibited them therein. In his Ma^t^y name you are required from time to time to repayre to ye place of their meeting and take y^e^ names of such as you shall find mett together and if any shall refuse to give you their names, you are to app^r^hend them & bring them before ye next magr. to be proceeded ag^t^ as ye law requireth & hereof you are to make a true return under y^e^ hand & into jailor.

Dat. 24, 8, 1668. EDW. RAWSON, Secr.[1]

How watchful the constables had been, and how they invaded the privacy of homes, the following return will show:

CHARLESTOWNE 13. (9): 68.

Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed having receyved a warrant from Mr. Rawson the order of the Counsell to take the names of all such persons as shall schismaticalie meete one the Sabath Daye: in pursuance whereof wee did one the Sixth Day in

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. X., p. 224.



J. repayre unto the house of Thomas Golde, wheare wee founde assembled together in theire exercises at the tyme off the publique assembly in the afternoone time,

Thomas Osborne
Steaphen Baker
Enoch Greenliefe Junr
The wife of Tho : Golde
and severall of the family.[1]

Jo : WAYMAN
RICHARD LOWDEN } *Constables.*

Goold, Turner, and Farnum were in prison and could not meet with their friends and fellow-disciples at home in their simple worship. In October we find them still missing from the little circle of worshipers, as appears:

Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed having received warrant from Mr Rawson in the name of the counsell dat. October 24, 68, for the preventing of schismatticall meetings in Charlestowne one the Sabbath Daye, In pursuance whereof one the 25 of Oct did repayre unto the howse of Thomase Goolde : And in the waye neare the saide howse wee did meete with Osborn and hys wife : who saied unto us that they had beene at Thomas Goolde hys howse at meetinge : and that theire meetinge was unto the saide Gooldes howse : wee found their Obaddiah Hoames of Roade Island (as he saide hys name was) And also Benanuel Bowers, Jonathan Buncer and Steaphen Baker of Charlestowne : and Enoch Greenleefe Sean^r And Mary hys wife and Enoch Greenleife Jun^r of Malden. Thys was in the tyme of the publique assembly at Charlestowne one the Sabbath Daye in the after part of itt.

Jo : WYMAN
RICHARD LOWDEN } *Constables.*[2]

It is interesting to find Obadiah Holmes once more on Massachusetts soil, from which he had been driven in 1651, after his cruel whipping, and warning not to

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers." [2] *Ibid.*

set foot on it again. The Newport Church was not indifferent to the sufferings of their Boston brethren, and it would afford no little cheer and courage to see and hear Holmes, who himself had been so heroic a sufferer for the faith. He had come to strengthen his brethren in this time of their trial. He was frightened by the officers of the law as little as were his fellow-disciples. It is not known whether or not the authorities disturbed him during this fraternal visit to the church which met in Goold's home.

In November, 1668, the Court received a petition signed by sixty-five persons of standing in the colony, whose sympathies were aroused by the sufferings of the Baptist prisoners. That the prisoners did suffer is evident from the fact that Goold, Drinker, Turner, and Russell had each been at death's door through the rough treatment which they received in jail. They survived their liberation, but remained with broken health for a few years only, when death brought them release. All of them died in the prime of life and were truly martyrs for their faith. This petition for a surcease of persecution and a release of the prisoners was treated very haughtily by the Court. The following is their petition:

Whereas, by the censure of this honorable Court, Thomas Goold, William Turner, and John Farnum now lie in prison deprived of their liberty, taken off from their callings, separated from their wives and children, disabled to govern or to provide for their families, to their great damage and hastening ruin, how innocent soever : besides the hazard of their own lives, being aged and weakly men,[1] and needing that succor a prison will not afford :

[1] They were not aged in years. Sufferings had aged them.

the sense of this, their personal and family most deplorable and afflicted condition, hath sadly affected the hearts of many sober and serious minded Christians, and such as neither approve of their judgment or practice; especially considering that the men are reputed godly and of a blameless conversation: and the things for which they seem to suffer seem not to be moral, unquestioned, scandalous evils, but matters of religion and conscience: not in things fundamental, plain, clear, but circumstantial, more dark and doubtful, wherein the saints are wont to differ, and to forbear one another in love, that they be not exposed to sin or to suffer for conscience sake. We therefore most humbly beseech this honored Court in their Christian mercy and bowels of compassion, to pity and relieve these poor prisoners, & etc.[1]

Some of the signers of this petition were among the leading citizens, nevertheless they were compelled humbly to acknowledge their fault before the Court, and after severe reprimand were fined for thus pleading for clemency. Among those whom the Court fined was Benjamin Sweetser, whose fine was ten pounds. This fine seems to have had a decisive effect upon him, for not long after he united with the Baptists, and remained through life a steadfast and useful member. The Court thus put itself on record not only as sternly determined to punish Baptists, but also to punish those who showed sympathy or appealed for mercy toward them. It was the same spirit which had impelled the Court, seventeen years earlier, to punish John Hazael and John Spurr for speaking kindly and with compassion to Obadiah Holmes when the executioner's lash cut into his quivering and bleeding flesh, as he stood tied to the whipping

[1] Ford, "New England Struggles," also "Mass. Archives," Vol. X., p. 221.

post on account of his Baptist faith. There had been little or no relenting during all the intervening years.

The continual news of these severe measures caused much commotion in England and no little uneasiness withal. The same treatment which they were measuring out so lavishly to Baptists in New England might possibly be measured out in the same measure to Congregationalists in Old England. Baptists were dissenters in the new world, Congregationalists were dissenters in the old world, and the Church of England was not greatly disposed to be tolerant of dissent. The principle of coercion in matters of faith which the Puritans were so rigorously applying in the colony was a two-edged sword, whose application in England would be fraught with grave calamity to them. Hence the leading Congregational ministers of London began to remonstrate earnestly with their brethren in Boston upon the shortsightedness and the peril of their present procedure. Remonstrance proved to be of little avail. A letter dated March 25, 1669, and signed by Drs. Goodwin, Owen, and eleven others of the foremost Puritan ministers of England, was sent to the governor, and stated plainly that they themselves were put in peril of persecution, because of the occasion given to their enemies through the action of their brethren in Massachusetts in their severities toward Baptists. They expressed as strong dissent as their New England brethren from the doctrines of Baptists, but declared it to be a matter of prudence and of safety for themselves not to persecute them further.[1] Even this appeal did not prove

[1] Letter in Backus' "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 314.

dissuasive enough to arrest proceedings. Cotton Mather says: "I cannot say that this excellent letter had immediately all the effect it should have had."[1]

John Farnum, one of the three prisoners, was admitted a freeman of Boston, May 13, 1640. He united with the North Church (Second Church) in Boston, under Mr. Mayo and Dr. Mather. He was put under discipline in 1665 for his sympathies with Baptists, in whose assemblies he was often found. Some time in the summer of 1666 he united with them, and soon fell under the ban of the common persecution. He was publicly excommunicated from the North Church, which had spent much labor and patience in disciplining and endeavoring to reclaim him. The account of it in their record, in the handwriting of Increase Mather, is almost as long as the account of Goold's discipline in the Charlestown Church record. He remained with the Baptists for some years, but afterward withdrew from them, and was restored to the North Church in 1683. He was a man of quick and ungoverned temper, which gave his brethren, in whatever church he was, much trouble. In October, 1668, he wrote from his prison a petition praying to be released, and agreeing "to attend the hearing of the word preached in the publike assemblys each Lord's day, sickness or the like not hindering."[2] Imprisonment had overcome his steadfastness, and made him ready to purchase release at any price. It is the only case of its kind in our records. He was unlike Robert Lambert, one of the constituent members, who, when the Court, in May, 1668, demanded whether he would cease attending the Baptist meetings, replied that he was "determined to continue in that way and was ready to seal it with his blood." Farnum obtained his release, but Goold and Turner were kept in prison until March, 1669, a period of almost a year. The prisons of that time had few points of likeness to the comfortable prisons of modern times. Usually the prisoners were obliged to provide their own food, and for this they were dependent on friends and relatives. Their repeated petitions at last decided the Council to allow them "liberty for three days to visit their families and also to apply themselves to any that are able and orthodox, for their further convincement of their many irregularities."[1] They were to return again at the end of three days to their prison. The Council evidently regarded their "convincement" as of far greater importance than their "visit to their families." It appears that they did not return to the prison, for in this same month (March, 166$\frac{8}{9}$) I find two search warrants were issued for the apprehension of Goold in Charlestown. They did not find him, for he used his liberty to remove himself and his family to Noddle's Island and out of the jurisdiction of Charlestown and Boston. Turner also escaped, but was apprehended again in January, 1670 (probably on a visit to his house in Boston), and was returned to the jail. Goold did not remove from his Charlestown home until after March 7, 1669, as the following constables' returns show:

[1] "Magnalia," Bk. VII., pp. 27, 28.
[2] "Mass. Archives," Vol. X., p. 224.

[1] Backus, Vol. I., p. 315. Note.



We, the constables of Carls-town, Referring to a warant from the counsell at Boston under Mr. Rosin's [Rawson] hand dated ocktober, 68 : Requesting us to look after persons meting togither upon the Lord's Day in a disorderly way & to Return the nams of which, we gooing to Thomas Goold's hous upon the sevinth day of March 6⅔ which wos the Sabeth day we found thes as fowlous :

Thomas Goold & his wif
Nathanell howerd & his wif
Benjamin Swicher
Stiving Backes
Jonathan Nuell
Josif Shapeys wif

of boston W^m^ Turner

& five of his children
Edward Drincker
Goode gockelling

of woborn
John Johnson
John Russell

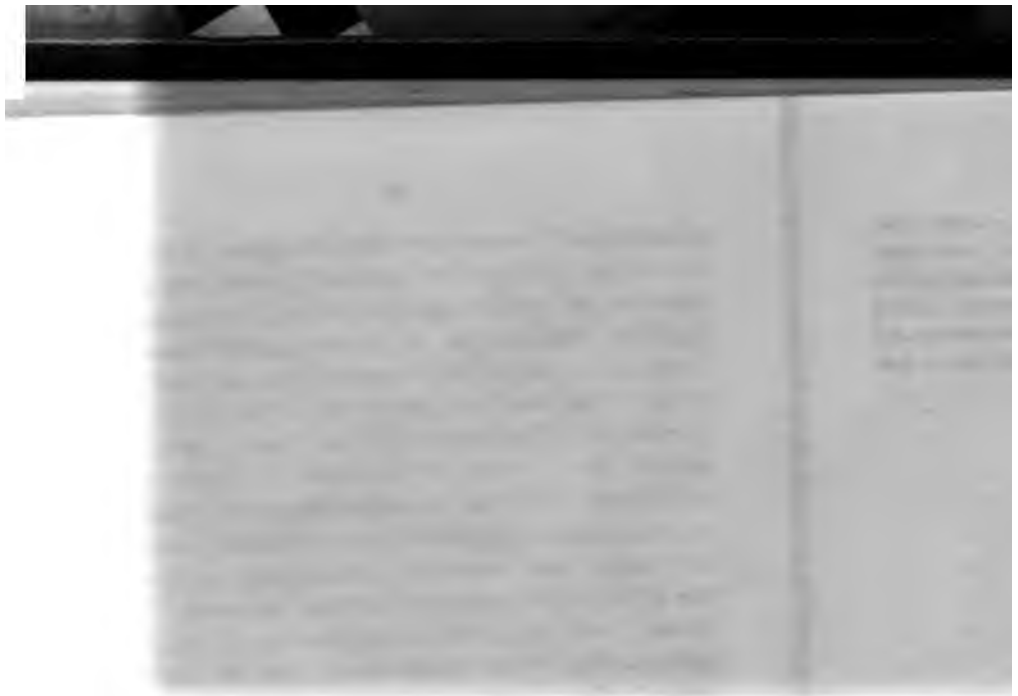
When we came into the hous John Johnson was exorting the pepell : After he had don Thomas Goold spack from that place in first of the canticells the seckond vers let him kis me with the kisis of his mouth & then went to prayer & so ended. They said it was att 2 of ye clock when they went thither to Th : Goolds hous.

Attested. 7. 2, 69. RICHARD LOWDEN, JOHN KNIGHT } *Constables.*[1]

The vigilance of these officers is more noteworthy than the accuracy of their spelling. I have allowed them to give their account literally in their own language. It is of especial interest because it is the only description (which is known) of the very simple form

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."

of worship of these much-hunted disciples. They had no singing, perhaps lest it should attract too much attention, and yet they made no secret of their meeting together. One or two of them exhorted from the Scriptures, a prayer or two was offered, and they separated. They were not dependent on the presence of a minister. They believed that every individual should have liberty of utterance in their social gatherings. They had an elder who usually preached and administered the ordinances in an orderly way, but if the elder were necessarily absent, some lay brother was called on to preach or exhort in his place. This worship and organization was the heresy which so agitated the whole government that it used its power to the utmost, even far beyond legal limits, to crush it. It is probable that the very simplicity and flexibility of the organization preserved it from utter destruction. It did not depend on any one man. Any one might expound the Scriptures to the others. Any one might pray in their assembly. Whoever of their number might be in prison, or absent for other cause, there was always some one present and ready to lead their service of worship. It was this fact which proved so baffling to the authorities in attempting to suppress the church. However many of their number might be under arrest, they were still never without leaders. The coming together at Goold's house week after week, while the father and head was still in prison, always gave their meetings a pathos, a tenderness, and a purpose which stimulated rather than paralyzed them. His house remained the meeting place to which members and adherents came



[redacted]

from Boston, Woburn, Malden, Newbury and Charlestown, until his removal to Noddle's Island in the spring of 1669. In April of this same year the following warrant was issued, and led to the imprisonment of another member of the church:

To the Marshall of Suff.

In his Majies name, you are required to warne and bring Edw. Drinker before mee at my house in Cambr. to answer for his assembling with Thomas Goold & Company on the Lord's Day in March last, contrary to the order of the Genll Court & hereof you are to make a true returne under yo' hand & not to faile.

Dat. 1. 2. 1669.

Thos: Danforth, Assist.[1]

The memorable meeting in March at Goold's house, where they had met to welcome him home from his long imprisonment, and pray and rejoice together, and of which the constables' account has already been given, proved to be the last meeting held in Charlestown for a long time. Henceforth they met on Noddle's Island. From his prison, Edward Drinker, who was a potter by trade, sent the following petition:

The humble petition of Edward Drinker prisoner at boston to the honored Court assembled and sitting at Cambridge showeth, that whereas as your petitioner was so suddenly taken and committed, having a great passell of weare by mee made but not burnt nor have I any person that is able to doe that work for mee, considering the casualty of it, if not burnt, but more especially the great want the country stands in of it. My request to the honored Court is that you would please to grant mee but two days Liberty to perfect that work upon giveing security to the keeper

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."

and returning to the prison every night. I shall acknowledge my thankfulness to youre honors and pray for youre welfare.

Your pore petitioner in bonds

From boston prison
6th 2.mo 1669.

Edward Drinker.[1]

It is not known that they granted his petition. He remained a prisoner until some time in the following year, when he wrote the following letter to Dr. John Clarke and his church at Newport:

Beloved Brethren and Sisters: I most heartily salute you all in our dear Lord, who is our alone Savior in all our troubles, that we his poor members are exercised with for his name's sake. And blessed be God our Father, that has given us such a High Priest, that was touched with the feeling of our infirmities, which is no small comfort to the souls of his poor suffering ones; the which, through grace, the Lord hath been pleased to make us in some (small) measure partakers of. And at this present our dear brother William Turner, a prisoner for the Lord's cause in Boston, has some good experience of, both of that which Paul desired, to be conformable to our Lord in his sufferings, and also of the promises of our Lord, in the giving forth (of) the comfort of his Spirit, to uphold us all, for that he is sensible of the sufferings of his poor members, and is ready to give forth supplies as are most suitable to such a condition as he calls his to. Friends, I suppose you have heard that both he and brother Goold were to be taken up; but only brother Turner is yet taken and has been about a month in prison. Warrants are in two marshals' hands for brother Goold also, but he is not yet taken, because he lives on Noddle's Island, and they only wait to take him at town (but he comes not over). The cause why they are put in prison is the old sentence of the General Court in '68, because they would not remove themselves. There were six magistrates' hands to the warrant to take them up, viz, Mr. Bradstreet, Major Denison, Thomas Danforth, Captain Gookin, Major Willard and Mr. Pin-

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."

chon. But all the deputies of the Court voted their liberty, except one or two at most, but the magistrates carry against all; and because some others of the magistrates were absent, and some that were there were Gallio-like, as one Mr. R. B. G.[1] But blessed be the Lord who takes notice of what is done to his poor servants, though men little regard. The town and country is very much troubled at our troubles; and especially the old church in Boston, and their elders, both Mr. Oxonbridge and Mr. Allen have labored abundantly, I think as if it had been for their best friends in the world. Many more gentlemen and solid Christians are for our brother's deliverance; but it cannot be had; a very great trouble (is it) to the town; and they had gotten six magistrates' hands for his deliverance, but could not get the Governor's hand to it. . . Some say one end is, that they may prevent others coming out of England; therefore they would discourage them by dealing with us; a sad thing if so, when God would have Moab be a refuge for his banished ones, and that Christians will not. But God will be a refuge for his, which is our comfort. We keep our meeting at Noddle's Island, every First-day, and the Lord is adding some souls to us still, and is enlightening some others: the priests are much enraged. The Lord has given us another elder,[2] one John Russell, senior, a gracious, wise, and holy man that lives at Woburn, where we have five brethren near that can meet with him; and they meet together First-days when they cannot come to us, and I hear there are some more there looking that way with them. Thus, dear friends, I have given you an account of our troubles, that you may be directed in your prayers to our God for us; as also of the goodness of God to us, and the proceedings of his good work in our hands, both to our, and I doubt not, to your joy and comfort. That God may be glorified in all, is our earnest desire and prayer to God, in all his dispensations to us. Brother Turner's family is very weakly and himself to. I fear he will not trouble them long; only this is our comfort, we hear if he dies in prison, they say they will bury him. And thus, my dear friends, I desire we may be remembered in your

[1] Governor Bellingham.

[2] Evidently a teaching elder. He was never pastor of the church.

prayers to our Heavenly Father, who can do abundantly above what we can ask or think; to whom I commend you all, and rest, your friend and brother,

EDWARD DRINKER.

November 30, 1670.

In October, 1670, six magistrates signed a warrant to "Marshall Genrll or his Deputy of Suffolk" "to apprehend the body of Thomas Goold and commit him to prison."[1] He was not found, and for unknown reasons the marshal did not go over to Noddle's Island, where he now lived, to arrest him. The warrant remained in readiness for his arrest, if he should at any time venture into Boston. William Turner was rearrested in January, 1670, and thrust again into prison, from which he sends the following petition:

To the honored General Court now sitting at boston the humble address of Will: Turner now prisoner at boston sheweth that whereas it hath pleased some of the honored maistrates to issue out A warrant for the apprehending of my body and committing mee to prison, and there to remayne according to A sentence of A general Court the 29th of April, 1668, youre poore prisoner doth therefore humbly beseech you to consider that by vertue of that sentence I have already suffered Above thirty weekes imprisonment and that A whole winter season which was a greate prejudice to my health and distraction to my poore family & which I hope this honored (Court) will consider with the weaknes of my body and the extremity of lying in prison in A cold winter whitch may be to the utter ruine of my headles family: And withal to consider my readiness to serve this country to the uttermost of my ability in all civil things, the maine difference being only in faith and order of which God only can satisfie A poore soul. Thus hoping this honored Court will take it into their serious consideration and extend their mercy as becomes the servants of Christ, I

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. X., p. 227.



shall leave both my state and condition and honored Court to the wise disposing of the Almighty, remaining yours to serve you in all faithfulness to my power.

WILL : TURNER.[1]

boston prison this 27th of 8mo 1670.

This petition was of no avail, for in December he was still found in prison. Baptist petitioners did not receive welcome or hearing at Court. The church was now meeting on Noddle's Island, and the majority of its members were for a little time unmolested. They had no thought of abandoning Boston or of surrendering their purpose of establishing their church on its soil, but their assemblies for worship were less liable to be disturbed and broken up by officers of the Court when they met on Noddle's Island. Every Lord's Day, members from Boston, Charlestown, and Woburn might be seen rowing across the harbor to their chosen meeting-place, where they might remain unmolested during a quiet hour of devotion and worship.

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. X., p. 228.

CHAPTER VI

THOMAS GOOLD. SUFFERINGS OF THE RUSSELLS. JOHN RUSSELL, JR., THE SECOND PASTOR. CATHOLIC SPIRIT OF THE CHURCH. BAXTER'S PAMPHLET. BENANUEL BOWERS.



[redacted]

VI

THE year 1670 was one of comparative quiet for the church. Their meetings were not watched by the officers of the Court with the same vigilance as when they were held in Charlestown. William Turner was, indeed, for some part of the year in Boston jail. Probably the greatest anxiety of the church was in behalf of Pastor Goold, who was for some time near to death as a result of the hardships which he had endured. There is no record of his ordination nor of his call to the headship of the church. He was probably called to be their pastor at their organization. It was he who administered the Lord's Supper and who took charge of their assemblies for worship. The brunt of persecution fell on him because he was the leader. His name appears first in all constables' warrants and jury indictments of this early period. He was notably their foremost man and was singularly fitted by temperament and personal qualities for his arduous work. He had the simplicity of character which is characteristic of a strong man, and the serenity of temper which is the result of immovable convictions and a balanced mind. He remained pastor for ten years, until his death, October 27, 1675. The following extract from a letter written by Benjamin Sweetser to the church in Newport in 1671 gives some details of the situation of the church:



brought women under indictment, but "the wife of Enoch Greenliefe of Malden" seems to have especially excited their ire by her Baptist zeal. The most conspicuous persons indicted were the two Russells, father and son. John Russell, Jr., had been baptized into this church prior to 1669, and John Russell, Sr., at some time soon after that date. The latter was a resident of Woburn as early as 1640. For several years consecutively he was chosen to fill the responsible office of "Sealer of Leather." He was selectman of the town in 1652–1656. In 1664 he was one of a committee appointed by the town to perform the difficult and delicate task of making an equitable distribution of the town lands among the proprietors. His fellow-townsmen thus recognized the fair and judicial qualities of his character. In 1664 he was chosen a deacon of the Congregational church in Woburn. About 1669 he became an avowed Baptist, and united with this church. He continued to live in Woburn until his death, June 1, 1676. His will is dated May 27, 1676.[1] "June 20, 1676. Administrõn on ye estate of Jno. Russell, Senr, late of Oborne decẽd was granted unto his relict widow Elizab: Russell."[2] "John Russell the Anabaptist dyed, 1. 4. '76."[3] In 1670 he is called Elder Russell, and it is known that he gathered around him a considerable group of brethren in Woburn and Billerica, and preached to them on the Lord's Day when it was inconvenient for them to meet with the church in

[1] "Woburn Town Records."
[2] "Middlesex Court Record," Vol. III., p. 143.
[3] "Record of Woburn Deaths," Vol. II., p. 35.



Boston. At times also he preached to the church itself when Pastor Goold was unable to fill his office. He seems to have been a "teaching elder," but was never pastor of the church. He is called "a gracious, wise, and holy man," and was greatly beloved by his fellow-disciples. He was a patient, quiet, sagacious man, who bore his trials with an equable and Christian temper. In April, 1671, he was ordered "by the Marshall to appear before the Court sitting in Cambridge." He appeared, but his answer was unsatisfactory, and he was formally presented by the Grand Jury, October 3, 1671:

John Russell Seno^r for renowncing communion w^th the church of Christ in Wooburne whereof he is A member: this declared by his frequent of late absenting himself from ye publick ministry of ye word on ye L^s Day in ye place where he dwells & when present, if infant baptisme administered then turning his back thereon: refusing to partake w^th his bretheren there (viz, in Wooburn) in ye L: Supp: joining himself to Another Society comonly called Anabaptistes: there taking office power as appeares by his (after their manner) casting out of John Johnson not long since A member of that Society.[1]

John Russell, Jr., was also presented at the same time. These presentments hung over them until December 19, 1671, when:

John Russell Sen^r appearing before the Court to answ^r the p'sentm^t of the grand jury for renouncing comunion with the church of Ch^t in that place, whereof he is a member, and this declared of late by his frequent absenting himselfe from the Publ: ministry of God's word on the Lords Dayes and turneing his back on the holy ordinance of baptisme and refuseing to partake with the church in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."

joyneing himselfe to the schismattical assembly of the anabaptists and taking office power among them. . . Hee the said Russell confessed the p'sentm^t and the Court considering the nature of his Indictment and the form^r endeavours legally used for his conviction and reformation, and y^t by his obstinacy therein he hath made himselfe lyable to ye judgment and sensure of the Court of Assistants, do order that he give bond in ten pounds to appear at the next Court of Assistants, to answ^r the above p'sentm^t and that he stands comitted until this order be fulfilled.[1]

He appeared in due time before the Court of Assistants, and the sentence, as might be expected, was as follows:

Att A Court of Assistants held at Boston 5 March, 167½ John Russell of Woborne being bound over to this Court by the County Court last at Charls Towne to Answer for renouncing Communion w^th the Church of Christ there: whereof he is a member & joyning himselfe w^th the schismatticall church of Anabaptists & taking office power amongst them & he appeared before the Court & acknowledged that after many shrinkings in his own spirit he did joyne himselfe w^th those called Anabaptists and tho under the feare of his owne weakness being presst & overcome by them, did accept of & become a teaching office to them & that he had exercised official power amongst them & the society or meeting of Anabaptists so much declared against by the Generall Court wherof Thomas Goold is a pretended officer and that he the sayd Russell refusing also to promise for after time to refrayne frequenting the aforesayd disallowed meetings, this Court hath therefore upon consideration of the sayd Russells pernitious practise & obstinate profession to persist therein have Adjudged him to be comitted to the prison at Cambridg there to remayne w^thout bayle or mainprise till the Generall Court take further order therein, unless in the meantime he doe engage by solemne promise to some two of the magistracy to desist from his Irregular Scanalous practice & Attend the publick worship of God on the Lords Dayes in the place

[1] "Middlesex Court Record," Vol. III., p. 14.

where he lives which he refusing to performe warrant Issued out for his comittment Accordingly.

EDWARD RAWSON, secretary.[1]

His defection from the Standing Order naturally aroused great interest in Woburn, where he had been deacon and selectman. He was a notable citizen, and consequently was pursued with greater rigor. He remained in the jail at Cambridge for several weeks, when he suffered a dangerous illness which he had contracted there. It was widely reported that he had died in the prison, but the following brief letter to the Newport Church gives the facts:

I perceive you have heard as if our brother Russell had died in prison. Through grace he is yet in the land of the living, and out of prison bonds, but is in a doubtful way as to recovery of his outward health: but we ought to be quiet in the good will and pleasure of our God, who is only wise. I remain your loving brother,

WILLIAM HAMLIT.[2]

BOSTON 14 of the 4th month 1672 (O.S.)

After this dangerous illness he was released from jail upon bail, and in October, 1672, he sends this letter:

To the honoured generall Coart now assembled, your humble petitionour: whar as I being comited to prison at Cambrig by the honoured Coart of Assistance held at boston the 5. 1.m 1672 (O.S.) there to remaine untill the generall Coart should take further order, in which time of my Imprisonment it pleased God to exercise me with great sikness and lamnes upon which I was released under baile, for the recovery of my health; the which God of his marcy hath in some measure restoared, though not yet free

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. X. [2] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 320.

from the remainders of that ilnes sustained by my Imprisonment, and questionable whether ever I shall. My humble request is that your honours would be pleased to take my case Into your serious consideration and to put an isue to it, but in case it be not your pleasure to free me from the sentence, my request is that your honours would bee pleased to free those men that ware bound for me, of there bond. And I shall remain at your pleasure, Your prisonour,

JOHN RUSSELL.[1]

15. 8. 1672 (O.S.)

This request and petition were refused.

John Russell, Jr., was also a resident of Woburn, and, like his father, was for some time the official "Sealer of Leather" for the town. He may have been a cobbler, but there is no evidence whatever of it except the fact that he was a leather dealer, which would be very slight evidence indeed. He was a man of singular discretion and of a good education. His mother was the first wife of John Russell, Sr., both of whose wives were named Elizabeth. His father married the second Elizabeth in 1645. John Russell, Jr., was probably born in England prior to 1640. He married Sarah Champney, of Woburn, in 1661. He united with the Baptists previous to 1669, but the exact year is unknown. It was probably in 1667 or 1668. He continued to reside in Woburn until 1679, when he removed to Boston, where he died December 21, 1680. He was nominated "Teaching Elder" January 13, 1678, and was ordained pastor (the second pastor of the church) July 28, 1679, an office which he held a year and five months. His widow died in

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. X., p. 227.



ultra Crepiaam," or else he would not have made such botching work.

Captain Hull's Diary speaks of the death of "John Russell (21 Dec. 1680), a preacher to the Anabaptists, after a pamphlet of his in excuse of y^m^selves, accusing ye chs hear of persecutions." All historians have fallen into the error of calling John Russell, Sr., the second pastor of this church. Even Backus, who is singularly accurate, makes this mistake. The Senior Russell was a teaching elder in 1670, and exercised his office sometimes in Boston and sometimes in Woburn, where he lived. He died in 1676, as the "Woburn Town Records" show.

In 1672 a revision of Massachusetts laws was made, and the doctrines of Baptists appear as "damnable heresies" and "notorious impieties." It was declared and ordered by the Court, among other things:

> That if any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the Christian faith and religion by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresies . . . viz, shall openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of that ordinance . . . every such person continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall be sentenced to banishment.

In the meantime presentments were continually before the Court, whose vigilance did not relax and whose warnings and threats were freely dispensed. "June 18, 1672, George Farley, Thomas Foster & W^m^ Hamlet being p^r^sented for breach of ye Ecclesiasticall lawes, they all confesse the p^r^sentm^t^, were admonished & ordered to pay 4£. 6d. apeece."[1]

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."



"June 17, 1673, Thomas Osbourne and Benanuel Bowers were fined 20 shillings and costs."[1] These were all residents of Woburn.

In delightful contrast with this persistent severity was the spirit of this church as shown in the following official letter. There had arisen in the Newport Church some advocates of the observance of the seventh day as the Lord's Day, and the discussion had grown so sharp that a permanent division in the church was imminent, whereupon this letter was sent from "the church in or near Boston" to Newport to the brethren who were disposed to withdraw into a separate society:

To brother William Hiscox, and the rest of our beloved brethren and sisters that observe the Seventh Day Sabbath with him, the Church of Christ in or near Boston sends greeting: Brethren, Beloved of the Lord: We, having had a view of the proceedings between yourselves and the church, cannot but be grieved to see how busy the adversary hath been, and how easily he hath prevailed upon the corruptions of our nature, to make breaches and divisions among those whom, we dare not but judge, are united unto one head, even Christ Jesus. And although we dare not judge your consciences in the observation of a day or days to the Lord, yet, brethren, your judging them that have so done, and we hope have not unadvisedly changed their minds, to be apostates, seems to our understandings to savor too much of a censorious spirit. And we, as brethren, made partakers of the same grace of God through the influence of his Holy Spirit, not being enlightened in the observation of the Seventh day as a sabbath to the Lord, shall humbly beseech you all to put on bowels of mercy, and not to be so strait in your spirits towards others; but consider, the only wise God giveth to each soul what measure of light and knowledge he pleaseth; and it is he must give wisdom to improve that measure of knowledge so given, or else we shall make a bad improvement thereof. Now, brethren, we dare not justify

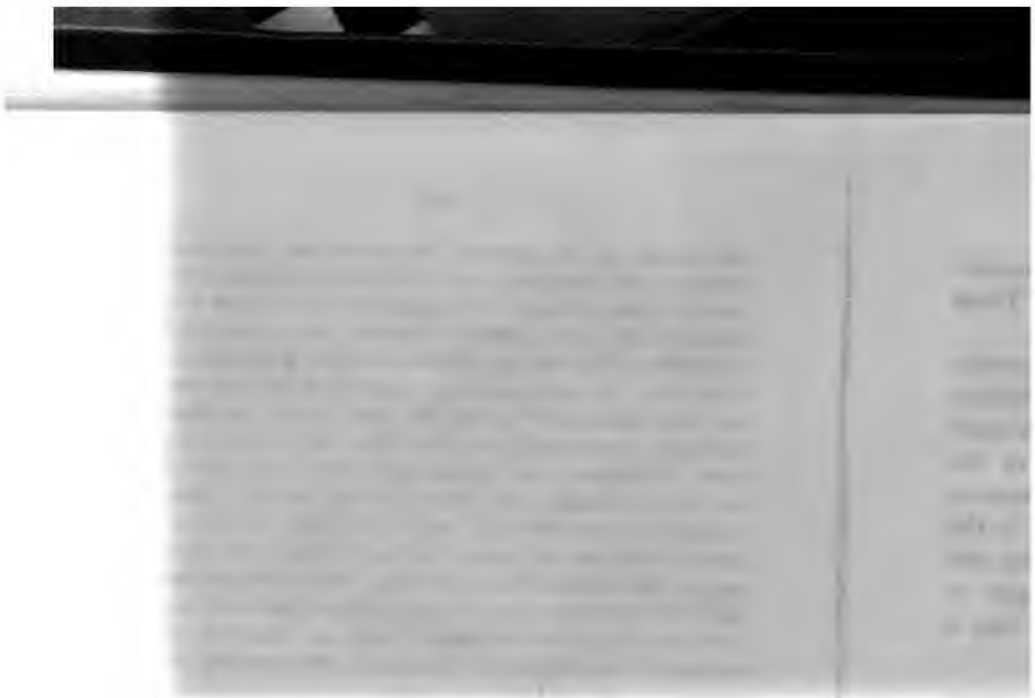
your action, nor the manner of the actions that have been between you and the church: but should have been glad if it had been the good pleasure of the Lord that you could have borne each with other in the matter of difference, and so have left it for the Lord to reveal more light and knowledge to those that are yet in the dark. But may we not say we are all in the dark, and see and know but in part? and the little part that any one knoweth, he is ready to conceive is the will of God, and so would have all to see with his eyes and to understand with his understanding; and cannot patiently wait on the Lord till he shall make discoveries of it to his brethren; so that our quick, narrow, and impatient spirits are the cause of so many breaches and divisions amongst the citizens of Sion at this day. By all which we humbly desire the Lord may make you and us, and all the Lord's people, to see the corruption of our natures that is yet unsubdued, that so we may all with sincerity of soul wait on him according to that measure of light and knowledge that each of us has received from him. And now, brethren, our desire is, if it may be the good pleasure of God, that this breach may be healed between you and the church. Our prayers shall be to the Lord for you, that each of you may be truly sensible, wherein you have so far departed from the law of brotherly love as to be an occasion of grief one to another, and to the Israel of God, and have given an occasion to the enemies to speak reproachfully of the ways of God; not doubting but you will be willing to look back over all those actions past in these differences, and if you find anything contrary to the mind and will of God, be willing to own it both to God and his people. We shall leave you to his love and guiding, who is able to comfort you in all your tribulations, and to establish, strengthen and settle you; to whom we leave you, and remain your poor unworthy brethren, who should rejoice in your prosperity, both in spirituals and temporals.

By the appointment of the church assembled,

THOMAS GOOLD,
WILLIAM TURNER.
JOHN WILLIAMS.[1]

NODDLES ISLAND, September 1, 1672.

[1] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 325.





This delightful letter, which was undoubtedly composed by Thomas Goold, exhibits his broad charity, his clear intelligence of the measures of Christian liberty, his fraternal attitude toward those who differed from him in views of the Scripture teaching, and breathes a large and true Christian life. That kindly spirit of tolerance which the church under its first pastor exhibited has been characteristic of this church from that day to this, and has been illustrated at many crises of its long history. At the close of 1672 Governor Bellingham died. He had been among the most severe and persistently hostile of all who were opposed to the Baptists. He would listen to no request for leniency, either from themselves or from their friends. Such requests were usually the occasion for greater severities. He was succeeded by Governor Leverett, who was more tolerant of dissent, and whose views of religion were neither so narrow nor so sectarian. Under his administration open persecution ceased. The laws against Baptists were not enforced. After his death, the church, in appointing a day of thanksgiving, lament his departure and express their sense of

> The Lord's goodness in preserving our peace and liberty beyond all expectations: God having removed him, who was a friend to us in the authority, by reason of which our opposites have the greater advantage against us, who have not been wanting to do their endeavor to suppress us.

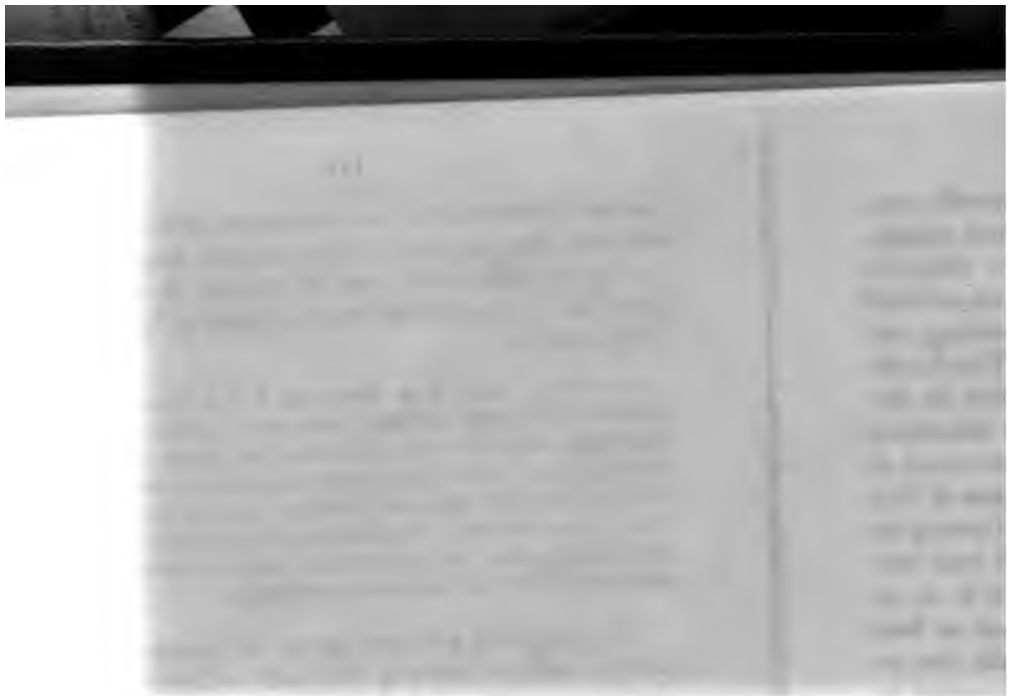
It was in this brief time of comparative freedom from coercion by the civil power, and when ecclesiastical enemies were lamenting the relaxing of effort

against dissenters, that some ingenious writer thought to keep alive the hostile feeling against Baptists "by as an unparalleled a piece of villany as ever was heard of." A pamphlet was published in London in 1673, entitled:

> Mr. Baxter *Baptis'd in Bloud*, or A Sad History of the unparalleled Cruelty of the Anabaptists in New England. Faithfully relating the Cruel, Barbarous, and Bloudy Murther of Mr. *Baxter* an Orthodox minister who was killed by the *Anabaptists* and his Skin most cruelly flead off from his Body, with an Exact Account of all the Circumstances and Particularities of this barbarous Murther. Published by his Mournful Brother, Benjamin Baxter, living in Fen church street London.

This pamphlet was cried about the streets of London by hawkers, and was also sent to Boston. The author asks, "Dares any man affirm the Anabaptists to be Christians? For how can they be Christians who deny Christianity, deride Christ's Institution of Baptism, and scoffingly call it, *Baby sprinkling*, and in place thereof substitute their prophane *Booby dipping*?"[1] "These wicked Sectarians deny this Sacrament and compel their adherents to renounce their Baptism, and to be dipt again in their prophane waters."[2] The author represents his brother as having removed to New England, and circumstantially relates how he met the Anabaptists in a public disputation in Boston, and worsted them in the debate so grievously that they were greatly enraged. By way of revenge they sent four ruffians, whose faces were concealed by vizors, to his house, a little way out of the town, who seized his wife and three

[1] P. 1. [2] P. 3.



daughters, first cruelly whipped and then flayed him alive before his wife and children. They would not give the poor man time even to pray, but, taunting him with persecuting the Baptists, they left him to die, which he soon did. One of his daughters also died from her frightful experience. It is a graphic and grewsome recital of a bloody deed. The author concludes:

> 'I have penn'd and publish'd this Narrative *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, that the world may see the Spirit and temper of these men, and that it may stand as an Eternal Memorial of their cruelty and hatred to all Orthodox Ministers.[1]

There were many ready to believe this extraordinary story, and it had wide circulation in London and in Boston. The excitement in the former city was great. Fortunately a merchant vessel arrived soon after from Boston, and both the master and the merchant owner, who was on board, denied that any such deed had taken place. They affirmed that there had been no such minister resident in Boston within their memory, and they had lived there many years. They had heard no such news before sailing. These things they testified under oath. The officers of the London ward in which was Fen Church Street testified that no Mr. Baxter had lived there within their memory. Dr. Parker, chaplain to the archbishop of London, then confessed that he had been imposed upon in granting the license to publish. The King's Council ordered the sale of the pamphlet stopped. It is supposed that Doctor Parker himself was the author, and

[1] P. 6.

took this method of exhibiting his rancor toward the Baptists. The prompt *exposé* was all that saved the Baptists from violence from the populace. That so many people should have been ready to believe the story illustrates the intense hostility toward Baptists, and also the profound ignorance concerning their true character. It also exhibits the illegal and unscrupulous methods of attack of which they were long the innocent victims.

Benanuel Bowers had been closely associated with the members of this church through many years. He was a constant attendant upon their meetings, and was commonly known and treated as a Baptist. He never actually united with the church, but nevertheless remained a steadfast supporter and defender of its interests. He was a resident in Billerica and in Cambridge. His name often appears in company with Goold, Osborne, and the others, in the record of arrests, fines, imprisonments, and banishments. The third and last section of an appeal which he made from the Cambridge Court to the Court of Assistants in Boston, June 17, 1673, gives a graphic account of what he suffered. It is not likely that he would give an exaggerated account to the Court which had the whole record before it and could easily verify the truth or falsity of his statements:

> I have been formerly often sentenced at Cambridge & Charlestowne Court much after this manner of proceeding five or six times, fined imprisoned and three times whipt privately at the house of correction at Cambr. My hands being put in the irons of the whipping post for the execution which hard usidge did cause my neighbours hearing it to be so much, did desire me to

let them see the signs of the stripes which I did, at which they were much troubled and grieved for my sore sufferings, and my Imprisonment was in ye dead & cold time of the winter and in seed time, and they kept me in prison too weekes and after that whip[t] me and sent me . . . and my maid servant which was hired for one year was forced away from my wife when she had five small children, one of them sucking, and against the maids own will and threatened by Capt. Gookin (the magistrate) if she would not goe away he would send her to the house of correction and also my wife have sufered much when I was in prision by coming to me in the extremity of the winter having noe maid, being destitute of any assistance or other help, and also my wife have bine forced to come to Court when she had lain in child bed but three weakes and condemned for contempt of authority in not coming to Court when she had laine in but three daies and my wife have bine likewise whipt upon the same account or pretense as I have bine and all this hath not satisfied the will and desires of some of my judges but do still continue their cruell proceedings against me mostly every Court still; & magistrate Danforth [of Cambridge] expressing his fury yet further in open Court against me saying unto me, if I be not hanged he would be hanged for me and many other high words and harde usage have I received from Cambridge magistrates which will be too tedious for to trouble this Court with; this being the very truth w[h] before specified that hath bine my position hitherto to the best of my knowledge having bine very curcomspect in speaking nothing but the truth, and to conclude I have judged it my duty in conscience to make now this my appeale to this Court that this matter may be known to you & the world . . . whether this be charity according to the rules of Christ and according to the lawes of this jurisdiction, according to ye king of England's lawes of liberty for all persons concerned in his dominions in matter of worshipping their God the w[h] have bine obsarved and is now practised continually to all his subjects to this time as well as are made known of by the late information we have received that they doe injoy their liberty and have that I am here denied but contrary am brought into bond and suffering very sore for worshipping of my God according to a good conscience, so committing myselfe to God and my judges in

this matter for my deliverance from bond and which hitherto have bine my portion and shall pray to God to direct you in your proceedings and subscribe myselfe your loving friend,

BENANUEL BOWERS.[1]

This appeal is in a rarely beautiful handwriting, and its contents are such as to touch the hardest heart. It is not an overdrawn picture of the minute and petty persecutions, as well as the severer sufferings, which the Baptists were compelled to endure. Courts knew no mercy in their case, and if at any time they grew weary in the pursuit there were ecclesiastical foes ready to arouse their lagging zeal. The annual election sermon offered a favorite occasion for exhorting the magistrates to do their duty in suppressing the Baptists. These ministerial productions were usually exceedingly militant in their tone, and with fiery phrase and denunciatory epithet urged that the enemies of the elect orthodox people should be driven from the community by the civil powers.[2] One might infer from their exaggerated rhetoric that Baptists were a species of ravening wild beasts, which lay in hiding among them and were ready to spring forth at any moment to tear and to devour, rather than their own neighbors and fellow-citizens. The Cambridge judges at their next session, October, 1673, promptly answered the charges which Bowers had preferred against them to the Court of Assistants by fining him five pounds or to be sent to prison.[3] They thought thus to exonerate themselves

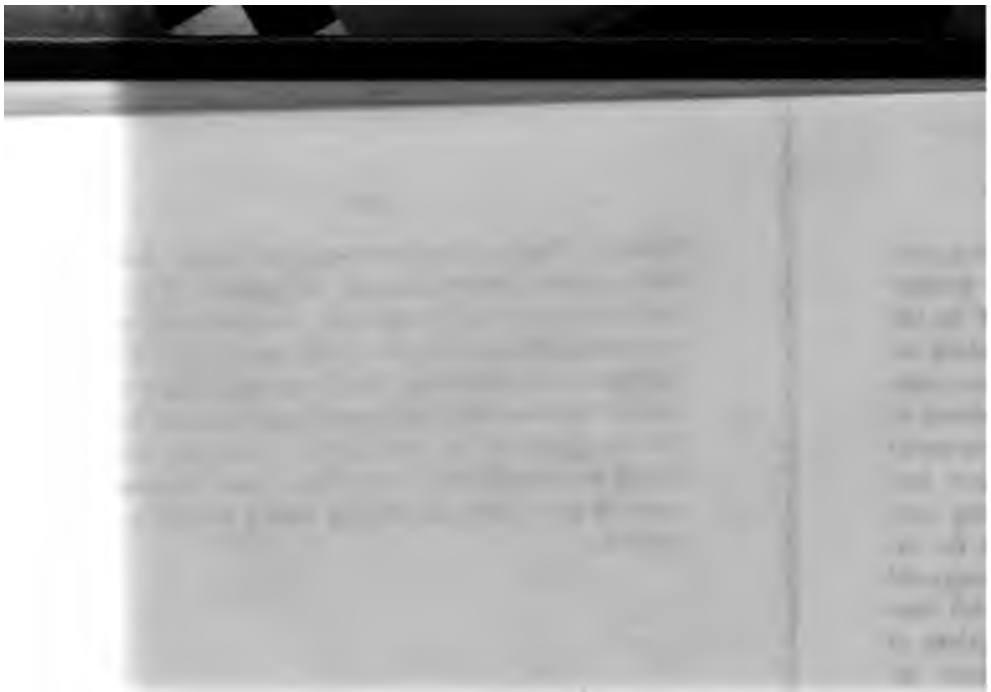
[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."

[2] *Vide*, "Election Sermons," Prince Collection, Boston Public Library.

[3] "Middlesex Court Record," Vol. III., p. 79.

and to dismiss these charges of their injustice, but, unhappily for their fame, the narrative of Bowers' sufferings has many tell-tale corroborations in the hidden archives of the Court, which the modern investigator constantly unearths. No man can write the full story of what these early Baptists suffered in wintry prisons, in petty judicial persecution, in social ostracism, in incessant harassment, in unjust suspicion, and in the danger which always hung over their households. The historian wearies in the recital of that sad story which the quaint and dingy old papers, letters, and manuscripts of that dreadful time now bring to the light of day. The foundations of this First Baptist Church were laid amid tears, anguish, hope deferred, families broken asunder, homes compulsorily forsaken, property taken, good names aspersed, and a future which seemed to be arched with no bow of the promise of quiet and peace. Wives, with an unyielding courage, gave their husbands to the prison, and carried food to them through the drear New England winters, and ministered to them in patience and faith. Men were ready to suffer the loss of all things, but they were not ready to carry a fettered conscience. Such men and women as laid the foundations of this church might die, but they would never surrender their right to religious liberty. It is a picture of heroic endurance, which not even the annals of Plymouth Colony in 1620 can surpass. It was a struggle for freedom, the story of which cannot be told too often. Puritan severity was pitted against Baptist pluck. Puritan intolerance was contending against the English and Christian love of

liberty. Puritan exclusiveness was vainly building walls against the freedom of the gospel. The Puritan was sturdy and honest and conscientious, but he was unenlightened in the truth and law of liberty. Hence all his efforts in behalf of compulsory beliefs within his theocratic State were foredoomed to failure. He struggled all in vain against men who were as sturdy as himself, and who withal were the embodiment of a principle in religion which cannot be conquered.



[redacted]

CHAPTER VII

Death of Goold and Russell. Rev. John Myles. The Indian War. Turner's Falls. A Case of Discipline. A Meeting-House Built. Nailed up by Authority. The Last Persecution.



[redacted]

VII

On January 9, 1674, William Hamlit wrote to Samuel Hubbard, of Newport: "Brother Drinker hath been very sick near unto death, but the Lord hath restored him to health again. The Church of the baptized do peaceably enjoy their liberty. Brother Russell, the elder and the younger, have good remembrance of you."[1] In the Diary of Capt. Hull occurs this entry: "This summer (1674) the Anabaptists that were wont to meet at Noddle's Island, met at Boston, on the Lord's Day. One Mr. Symon Lind (Lynde) letteth one of them a house." They had met in Charlestown and on Noddle's Island only because of stress of circumstances. At last they are permitted to meet in Boston in their own hired house and to feel themselves at home. This church, which had so taxed the powers of the colony to suppress it, and which had arrested the attention of the king and of many in high authority in England, had enrolled but eighteen members in the first five years, and but fifty members in the first ten years of its history. It had comparatively little wealth and social prestige. It was debarred by law from political influence, and its own principles effectually prevented it from seeking political activity. It was fighting in New England the battle of religious liberty for all time. It was contending for a principle which is deathless, and

[1] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 327.



[redacted]

hence the power of Church and State could not crush this band of disciples. During this first period of quiet which the church had enjoyed since its organization it was called upon to part with its beloved first pastor, Thomas Goold. He passed away October 27, 1675. He died a martyr. He had been despoiled of home, property, and health; but he never faltered. Elder Russell says that "he was in some good measure fitted and qualified for such a work, and proved an eminent instrument in the hand of the Lord for the carrying on the good work of God in its low and weak beginnings," and, speaking of those who were associated with him, he says:

> Their trouble and temptations followed one upon the neck of another, like the waves of the sea; but these precious servants of the Lord, having in some good measure counted the cost beforehand, were not moved from any of these things, but were cheerfully carried on by the hand of the Lord upon them, through all the afflictions and reproaches they met with; and are the most of them now at rest with the Lord, having served the will of God in their generation.[1]

For ten stormy years, in prison and out of prison, Thomas Goold had led his little flock, and himself had borne the brunt of sufferings. He had fought a good fight. He had kept the faith. He is worthy of imperishable honor. He was a steady, serene, divinely prepared and guided leader. It was a pathetic ending of a true life, that it must pass away within sight of its promised land. The church had now so many members and so large a constituency of sympathizers that the civil and ecclesiastical leaders of the colony

[1] Russell, "Narrative," pp. 1, 2, 6.

began to realize the hopelessness of efforts to crush the Baptists. They had entrenched themselves in numerous towns, and the leaven had penetrated every part of the commonwealth. The Court, however, showed some signs of a renewal of persecution:

> June 25, 1675, John Russell, Sen^r^, appearing before the Court to answ^r^ the p^r^sentm^t^ of the Grand Jury for not attending the Publ: worship of God on Lords Dayes &. etc., and by his owne confession in open Court, being convicted of constant & ordinary frequenting the meeting of the Anabaptists on the Lords Dayes & etc., is sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds & costs eight shillings & six pence.[1]

At the same Court, John Russell, Jr., for the same offense "is fined 40 shillings & six shillings costs."[2] In the next year, "Oct. 3, 1676, Thomas Osbourne & wife were fined 40 shillings."[2] In December, 1677, "John Russell John Wilson Sen^r^ & Caleb Farlow were sentenced to pay twenty shillings a.p.s & costs."[2] The Court thus continued its harassing tactics, but in a desultory way and with an evident hopelessness of accomplishing the desired results.

The sentences were no longer imprisonment or banishment. They consisted in fines in money, and whatever social reproach might accrue from frequent summons to and appearances in Court. They were intended to deter any others from becoming Baptists because of the annoyances which would follow. John Russell, Sr., a teaching elder of the church, and one who had oversight of the group of members living in Woburn and Billerica, survived his pastor,

[1] "Middlesex Court," Vol. III., p. 128.
[2] "Middlesex Court Record," Vol. III., pp. 151–205.

Goold, but a few months. He died June 1, 1676. These two men had been pillars in the church. They were greatly revered and trusted, and their loss was keenly felt. The church was now left without pastor or teaching elder. In November, 1676, Rev. John Myles was invited to become their pastor, and came to visit them. He had emigrated from Wales, from which he had been driven by the intolerant Act of Uniformity in 1662, and settled in company with members of his expatriated church in Swansea. Plymouth Colony had made a grant of a township to them. They found many persons in that region who were already Baptists, and in 1663 a Baptist church was organized, of which Mr. Myles became the pastor. This church has always remained a rural church, but still maintains a vigorous life.

In 1676, Mr. Myles again found himself homeless, but this time through hostile Indians, and not through Englishmen, and an invitation to settle in Boston seemed particularly opportune. The Indian War, in which King Philip led the Narragansetts against the colonists, had temporarily broken up the Baptist church and settlement at Swansea. Elder Myles was glad to find a shelter and home in Boston, especially among his Baptist brethren. He did not accept their invitation to become pastor, nor did he unite with the church, but he remained among them as their acting pastor from November, 1676, until February, 1678. The country around Swansea was laid waste by the Indians, and he was content to abide in Boston until the settlement which he had planted could be re-established. He had been but a few months in Boston ministering to the shepherdless flock when the watchful eyes of the Governor's Council fell upon him.

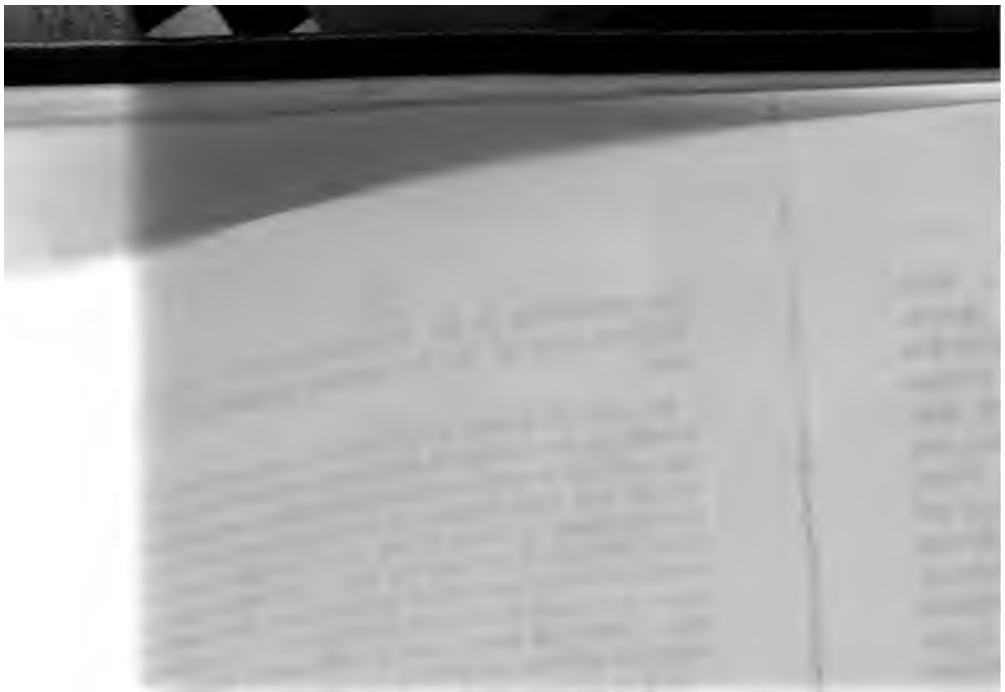
Mr. Miles being called before ye councill to give an acc't of his preaching to the assembly of Anabaptists, whereof Gold and Farnum, and sundry others excommunicate persons were of the number, the said Miles confessed y^t^ he being driven from his own place and people at Swanzy by the rage of ye Indians, and coming to Boston had accepted the call of sd society to preach among ym, but declared the purpose to return to his owne place as soon as he could be provided of a habitation . . . the councill desired him to take notice y^t^ they did now declare their owne dissatisfaction with him, he being by his owne confession convicted of being an offender against the said lawes.[1]

These were the laws against Baptists. But, in spite of this plain warning, he remained to comfort the church, and seriously considered making Boston his permanent residence. The wish and plan of the church that Mr. Myles should remain as its pastor was never consummated. Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton wrote to Dr. Increase Mather, November 29, 1677:

I hear M^r^ Miles still preaches in Boston; I fear it will be a meanes to fill that town which is already full of unstable persons with error; I look upon it a great judgment . . . let all due meanes be used for prevention.[2]

In 1678, "Mr. John Allen and John Brown (of Swanzey) were chosen to draw up a letter in behalf of the church and town, to be sent to Mr. John Myles, pastor of the church and minister of the town, mani-

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. X., p. 233.
[2] "Mass. His. Coll.," Vol. VIII., "The Mather Papers," p. 587.



festing our desire of his return to us."[1] He acceded to their wishes and settled again in Swansea. It was a good providence which led him to decline the pastorate of this church, for, although he was an able and godly man, he had not reached clear ideas in regard to separation of Church and State. In the life and death struggle in which the church was now engaged with the Puritan authorities it was imperative that the pastor should see the issue clearly, and adhere uncompromisingly to the principle of absolute religious liberty. He ministered to his flock in Swansea until his death, February 3, 1683. He was a man of power, and was an encouragement to the Baptists in Boston during all these early struggles. He often visited them, and they frequently sought his counsel. His second son, Samuel Myles, graduated from Harvard College in 1684, and became the rector and virtual founder of King's Chapel (then Episcopalian). He was rector from 1689 to 1724, a period of thirty-nine years. He and his flock had also to endure the hostility of the Standing Order, but they had the support of many of the officials of the English Crown, who were stationed in Boston. Many army and navy officers, and frequently the royal governors, attended King's Chapel.

Doubtless the Baptist ancestry of Rector Myles, as well as the similarity of situation with reference to the Congregational churches, was a reason for the pronounced sympathy between Baptists and Episcopalians in those early days. They were close allies against a common persecutor. Episcopalians were

[1] Ford, "New England Struggles," p. 109.

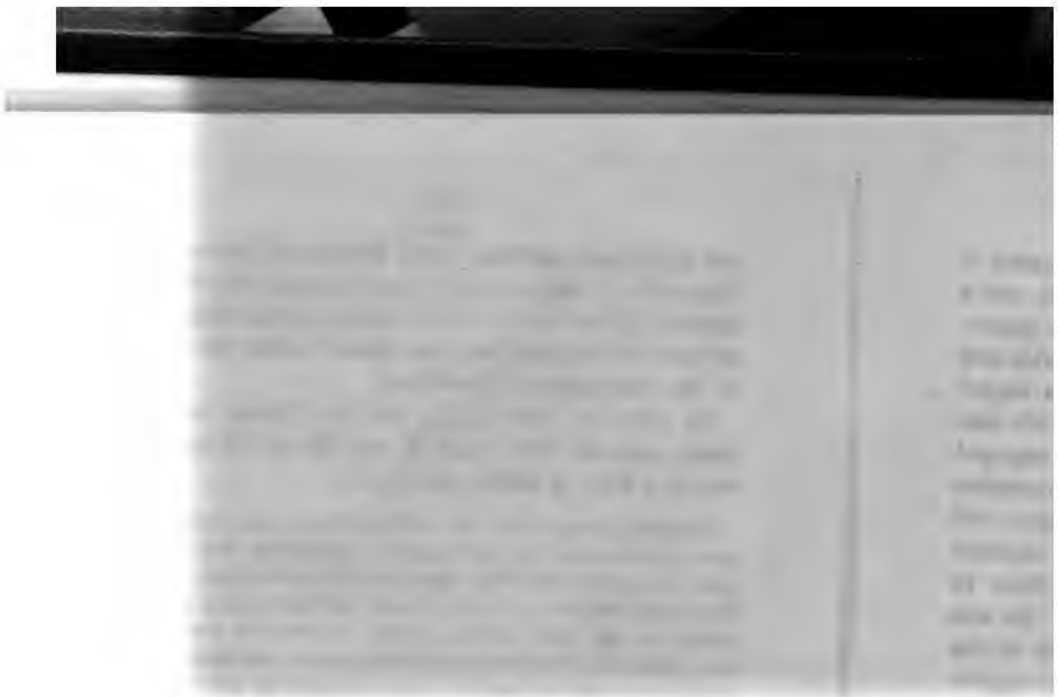
but little more welcome than Baptists in Boston, but they suffered comparatively little, because the Puritan leaders did not dare to treat them with the same rigor as they did Baptists, lest they should excite the wrath of the king against themselves.

In 1675–76 King Philip and his Indians ravaged many parts of New England, and the whole country was in a state of alarm and danger.

In the beginning of the war, William Turner gathered a company of volunteers, but was denied a commission and discouraged, because the chief of the company were Anabaptists. Afterwards when the war grew more general and destructive, and the country in very great distress, having divers towns burnt, and many men slain, then he was desired to accept a commission. He complained it was too late, his men on whom he could confide being scattered; however was moved to accept.[1]

Anabaptists had been persistently branded as enemies of the State, destroyers of government, and hostile to the welfare of the commonwealth. They had indignantly denied these charges, but their enemies had never ceased to insist upon them. When the distress of the war grew urgent and volunteers did not come forward to the defense, the Baptists raised a company and offered their services on the frontier. This offer was refused. The authorities saw clearly enough that an acceptance of volunteered service would be an open acknowledgment of the falsity of the oft-repeated charges, that Baptists were enemies of the State. This was the cause of their reluctance to accept the service. The company was disbanded; but, when the situation grew critical, their offer was

[1] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 335.





somewhat ungraciously accepted. The company was officered by Baptists who were members of the First Church, Boston. William Turner was captain, Edward Drinker was lieutenant, Thomas Skinner was clerk, Philip Squire was corporal. They marched to relieve the towns in the Connecticut Valley, which were threatened with instant destruction. They drove off the Indians from Northampton and gave its inhabitants a sense of security. May 18, 1676, Captain Turner and Captain Holioke, of Springfield, with about one hundred and fifty men, surprised and attacked the main body of Indians, seven or eight hundred in number, in the gray of the morning, near Deerfield, and gave them so decisive a defeat that the Indian power was completely broken. The Indians were never again able to rally in strength. Captain Turner was slain in the battle. The name, Turner's Falls, given to the town near by, commemorates his noble service. This brave man, who had been in prison again and again for religion's sake, thus adventured and gave up his life for those who had ruthlessly persecuted him. His heroic conduct won a somewhat reluctant applause, but the victory gave immediate relief to the distressed Colony. Baptists had vindicated themselves and their loyalty to the State in an unmistakable way against the aspersions of the General Council, and of ecclesiastical leaders. The Election Sermon preachers and the hostile pamphleteers could never again charge them with disloyalty to the government and expect to be believed. Turner's Falls will always have a peculiar historic interest for Baptists.

In 1677, the church had increased in numbers so greatly that there was serious talk of dividing it into two bodies and planting a new church in Woburn.

Feb. the 11th 1677. Itt was Agreed upon att A Church Meeting that the Oborne (Woburn) Brethren and Bilerricae Brethren namely Brother Thomas Foster Thomas Osborne John Wilson John Russell Timothy Brooks Caleb Farlow John Jeffs should have the libertye to gather themselves into Church order in A body by themselves for theire more convenyent carrying one the work of god Among them.[1]

Baptist sentiment had for a long time been especially prevalent in the neighborhood of Woburn and Billerica. There were Baptists there certainly as early as 1669, and in 1671 "Isaac Cole, Francis Wiman, Francis Kendall, Robert Pierce, Matthew Smith, Joseph Wright, John Johnson, Hopestill Foster, John Pierce, John Russell, Matthew Johnson," were brought before the Court, "for absence from Church and opposition to infant Baptism."[2] The greater part of these brethren became members of the church in Boston. It is not surprising that they should have thought it more convenient to be in a church by themselves and have their own worship and their own pastor. The church now numbered more than sixty members, and these, with their friends and members of their households, who might desire to attend public worship with them, would find it impossible to get into any private house. They found themselves straitened for room, and a division of their number seemed advantageous. They were not allowed to build a meeting-house, and the establishment of two or more churches,

[1] "Church Record." [2] Sewall, "Hist. Woburn."



each small enough to meet in a private house, seemed inevitable. But reflection and consultation led them to a wiser step.

Att A Church meeting January 13 *1678*. itt was Agreed by the hurch Assembled in Charlestowne that there should be noe dedding of the Church into two or more Churches untill ye said urch att Boston be supplyed with A sufficient Able ministry tled with them in Boston.[1] . .

Att the Same Church meeting ye 13th of January *1678* itt was eed by the Church by a vote of all that Brother John Russell uld be in nomination for A teaching Elder in the Church.[1]

It is easy to see that the church was reluctant to ve up John Russell to settle with the Woburn ethren, and also that they were already devising ys of building a meeting-house. Under such circumstances, they deemed it wiser to concentrate rather an scatter their forces. It was a sagacious policy make the church in Boston as strong as possible, nd was the means of hastening their victory.

Att a Church Meeting the 10th of 12mo 1678 Itt was Agreed by the Church that the Brethren in Boston should goe on in Building a Meeting House in Boston.[1] . .

Att ye same Church meeting itt was agreed that Brother John Russell & Mr Myles with severall of ye Brethren consult how Brother Russell and Mr Myles may dispose themselves in order to provide for ye carriing on ye work of ye ministry in Boston.[1]

The secret of this renewed activity on the part of the church, and especially their plan of attempting the dangerous task of building a meeting-house, was the fact that the Colony of Massachusetts Bay had become entangled in a most serious dispute with the

1 "Church Record."

mother country, and its charter was in danger. Both the politicians and the ministers were divided in opinion. One party favored the strongest possible assertion of the king's prerogatives, and the other favored the most radical demands of Colonial rights. It was a time of violent political agitation, which absorbed public attention. The king in council had directed that adherents of the Church of England in Massachusetts "be declared capable of all freedoms and privileges as any other person whosoever." It was, therefore, impossible for the Colonial government to enforce the laws against Baptists without traversing the king's command in regard to Episcopalians, for they also were nonconformists in New England. The king had no love for Baptists, but he desired that his faithful Church of England subjects should have freedom of worship on Massachusetts soil. Under cover of this order of the king, Baptists believed themselves also entitled to the open liberty of public worship, and had the audacity to plan the erection of a house for meetings. They also planned the necessary arrangements for having a settled ministry over them.

Upon the 26th of 12mo *1678* according to the Church Appointment Brother Russell & Mr Myles with severall of ye Brethren Mett and upon consideration how the Church att Boston might have supply to carry on the work of the Ministry Brother Russell came to this conclusion and made this Promisse that if necessity did require and noe other provision might be found for Boston that then he did comply with the Churches call att Boston. Mr Myles came to this conclusion and made this promisse that If providence did soe order and dispose that Brother Russell were removed to Swansey to there content that he would continue with



the Church att Boston till they should be providded to there content.[1] . .

The conclusions and Promisses made by Mr Myles and Brother Russell on ye other syde of this leafe were made with this provisall that the Church according to there capassityes take care of them and theres.[1]

They had strong hope of retaining Mr. Myles as their pastor, for two weeks later this record occurs:

Yo 10th of 1st mo 167⅞

Upon consideration of A Promise made by Mr Myles of his Redy and willingness to serve ye lord Amongst this Church, we think itt very rationable to signify our Redy free and thankfull Acknowledgmt of such A favor and doe declare our willing Acceptation thereof that If the Lord shall be pleased to work A release for Mr Myles from Swansey according to ye mind of god, that then we whose names are undrwritten doe freely and withall thankfullness owne ourselves Ingaged to our Abillityes to take care of him and his.

Isaack Hull	John Farnum Cenr
Edward Drinker	Benj. Swettzer
James Landon	Thomas Skinner
Phillipp Squire	John Russell
Thomas Osborne	Hercules Corser
Joseph Hiller	Joseph Willson Cenr

Ellis Callender.[1]

Nothing came of all these negotiations. The church in Swansea was unwilling to give up its pastor, and soon after the date of the last record he returned to his former home. Mr. Myles and the church parted with mutual affection, and soon after John Russell was ordained to be their pastor. "On July 28th 1679 was ye day of Solemnizeing that work of ordination of our beloved Brother John Russell to

[1] "Church Record."

the place of An Elder."[1] It is not known who took part in the ordination service, but it is reasonably certain that Mr. Myles was present.

Toward the end of December, 1679, the royal order commanding toleration for all who "desire to serve God in the way of the Church of England . . . or any other of his majesty's subjects (not being Papists) who do not agree in the Congregational way" reached Boston. The Colonial authorities must, therefore, either cease persecution or else openly rebel against royal authority. They endeavored to keep a middle course. They were not in an obedient mood, but wisdom dictated acquiescence in the letter, if not in the spirit, of the royal mandate. Episcopalians were no longer disturbed. Baptists were harried for a while longer, but more guardedly.

The first case of church discipline recorded in our annals is given in full. It illustrates the spirit and method of that far-off time. It is as follows:

Att A Church Meeting the 11th of the 9mo 1677 Itt was Agreed that Brother Drinker Brother Foster Brother Russell and Brother Skinner should goe in ye name of the Church to sister Watts to see whether shee remaines in that obstinate frame of spiritt against god and his Church as formerly they left her and soe made returne to the Church of her Answer.[2]

[1] "Church Record." Note. The early New England churches often had besides a pastor, a teaching elder and a ruling elder. The work of the latter was to visit the sick and distressed, to keep careful watchcare over the flock, and, when necessary, to rebuke and administer discipline. The term elder is applied to each of the three officers, and early church records are accordingly confusing to the historian. John Russell, Jr., was a teaching elder before he became pastor. John Russell, Sr., seems to have been a ruling elder only.

[2] "Church Record."



Sister Watts proved that she had a stubborn will, and it is not recorded that she ever repented and returned to the fellowship of the church. She remains on our records with the unhappy epithet "disorderly walker" attached to her, which constitutes her sole title to this little posthumous fame.

The church was on the watch for promising ministerial talent, and encouraged the brother who appeared to have gifts for preaching. Such persons were likely to appear in an assembly where every one was encouraged "to prophesie" and to exhort. The first record of official encouragement is as follows:

A Coppy of A letter sent to Brother Pearce

Boston 10th of 1st M° 167$\frac{8}{9}$

Brother Pearce upon the consideration of A credible testimony given by severall Brethren, of A gift which god hath given you, the improvement of which might be for the edification of the Church we have thought meete upon due consideration to pass A Church Act that you might be Improving in the work of ye lord as opportunity shall p'sent Amongs ye Brethren there and these lynes are to request that you stirr up that gift given you in ye Exercise thereof which is ye joynt Agreement and request of this Church and ye Brethren in gospel Bonds

Signed by us in ye name of ye Church

ISAACK HULL
EDWARD DRINKER
THOMAS SKINNER

Att ye same Church Meeting the same Act passed concerning Brother Osborne that he should be Improved in ye Exercise of his gift att Woborne.[1]

John Pearce united with the church in 1678 and was a resident of Woburn. We know nothing of

[1] "Church Record."



A Coppy of A letter sent to sister Watts from Charlestowne att A Church meeting the 6th day of 10mo *1678*.

SISTER WATTS,

These few lynes are to Acquaint you that we have considered yo^r condison and as we are informed and und^stand that you desire to speake with ye Church If you please to appoint ye time and place, the Church will accordingly appoint some in there behalfe to give you a meeting unless some extraordinary providence doe prevent soe with our kind love to you we rest yo^r Brethren in ye best relations.

Signed by us in ye behalfe of ye rest ISAACK HULL
THOMAS FOSTER
JOHN RUSSELL

having Receved severall Resons from sister Watts by our Brethren for her withdrawing from ye Church which were groundless and of a raileing nature they took itt into consideration and proceeded as followeth,

The Church of Christ att Boston being assembled att Charlestowne the 10th of 12mo 1678 takeing into consideration the unchristian carriages of Elizabeth Watts and upon serious and solemn consideration doe find that for a long space of time she has binn A disorderly walker toward the Church she belongs unto and that by her groundless rejection of the Church as alsoe railingly charging ye Church with great evills without ye least ground of proofe and taking part with her husband in condemning ye Church in such Acts passed by them according to ye rules of Christ and therefore ye Church doe soe declare to all itt may concern that they look upon her as a disorderly walker and they soe vote her and without her repentance will have noe communion with her and therefore to unfeigned repentance for these evills doe Admonish her in ye name of our Lord Jesus that we may injoy her as a sister. Signed in ye name of ye rest by us

ISAACK HULL
THOMAS OSBORNE
JAMES LANDON
THOMAS SKINNER.[1]

[1] "Church Record."

Sister Watts proved that she had a stubborn will, and it is not recorded that she ever repented and returned to the fellowship of the church. She remains on our records with the unhappy epithet "disorderly walker" attached to her, which constitutes her sole title to this little posthumous fame.

The church was on the watch for promising ministerial talent, and encouraged the brother who appeared to have gifts for preaching. Such persons were likely to appear in an assembly where every one was encouraged "to prophesie" and to exhort. The first record of official encouragement is as follows:

A Coppy of A letter sent to Brother Pearce

Boston 10th of 1st M^o $16\frac{7}{79}$

Brother Pearce upon the consideration of A credible testimony given by severall Brethren, of A gift which god hath given you, the improvement of which might be for the edification of the Church we have thought meete upon due consideration to pass A Church Act that you might be Improving in the work of ye lord as opportunity shall p^sent Amongs ye Brethren there and these lynes are to request that you stirr up that gift given you in ye Exercise thereof which is ye joynt Agreement and request of this Church and ye Brethren in gospel Bonds

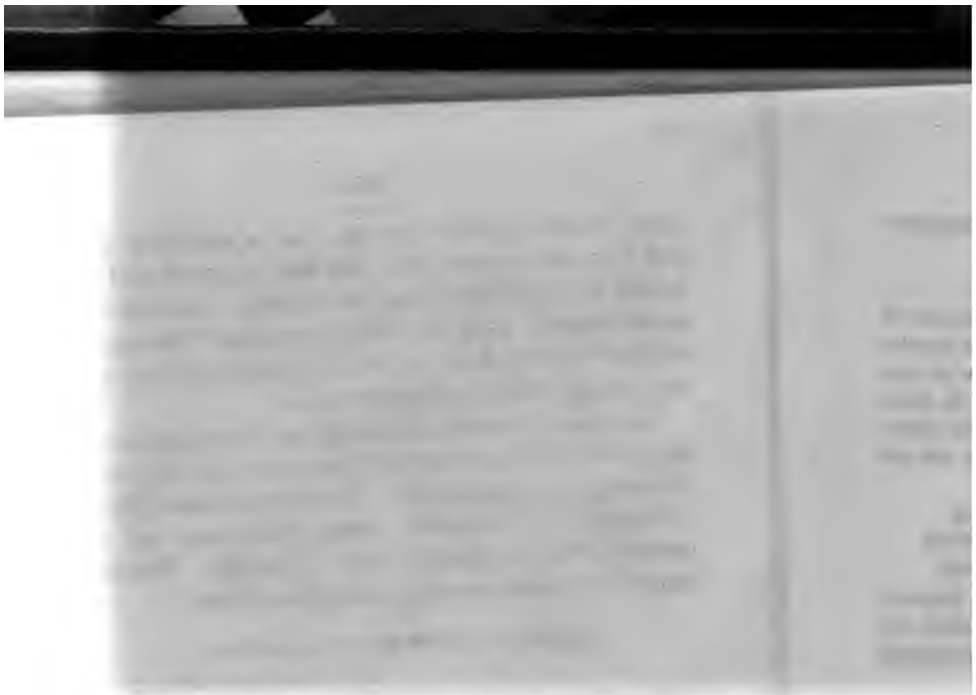
Signed by us in ye name of ye Church

ISAACK HULL
EDWARD DRINKER
THOMAS SKINNER

Att ye same Church Meeting the same Act passed concerning Brother Osborne that he should be Improved in ye Exercise of his gift att Woborne.[1]

John Pearce united with the church in 1678 and was a resident of Woburn. We know nothing of

[1] "Church Record."



what was the result of the "exercise of his gifts." He has left no earthly record. Thomas Osborne was the steadfast helper of Thomas Goold, and had endured with unwavering patience all of the early trials of the church. As late as October, 1676, he and his wife were fined forty shillings for being Baptists.[1] He was a trusted and honored leader.

Att A Church Meeting the 30th of June *1679* Itt was concluded in ord[e] to carry on ye work of god in Woborne that on the three lord's dayes between breaking of bread Elder Hull Brother Drinker & Brother Osborne should take their turne in ord[e] to supply that place in carrying on ye work of god.[2]

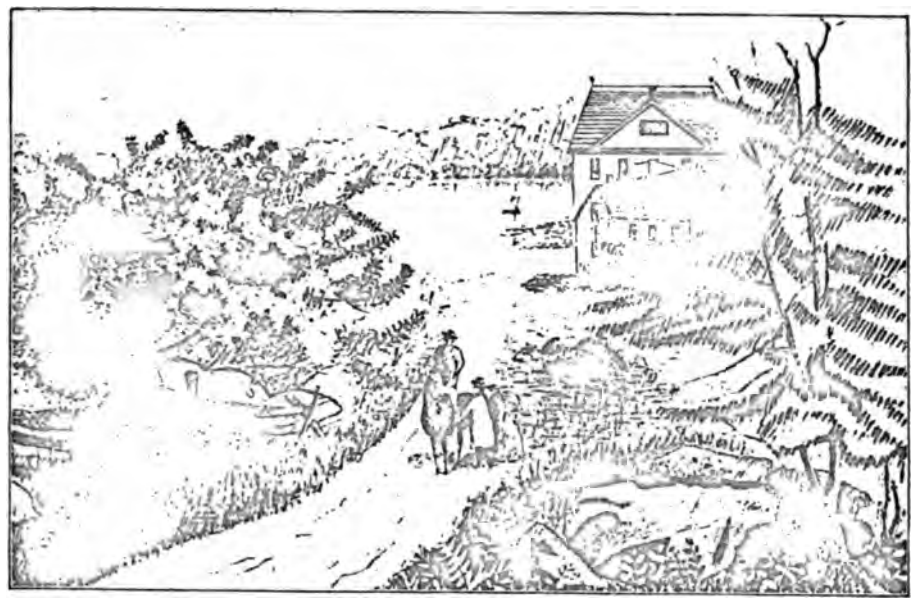
It is evident that the church observed the Lord's Supper once every month, as is the custom at the present time.

In the latter part of the year 1678 the church began to build a meeting-house suitable for the use of its growing membership. They built it on private ground owned by Philip Squire and Ellis Callender, members of the church. It was situated on Back Street (now Salem Street) near the mill pond, and in appearance resembled a large private residence. They kept secret the purpose for which they designed the building lest the authorities should throw obstacles in their way, although at this time there was no law forbidding them.

Att A Church Meeting in Boston upon ye 9th of February *1679* itt was unanimously Agreed upon by the Church to make Improvem[t] of ye new howse built for the Publicque worshipp of

[1] "Middlesex Court, Original Papers."
[2] "Church Record."





FIRST MEETING-HOUSE.
1679-1771.

From Gov. Pownall's "View of Boston."



god and to enter into itt ye 15th day of this Instant itt being ye next first day.[1] . .

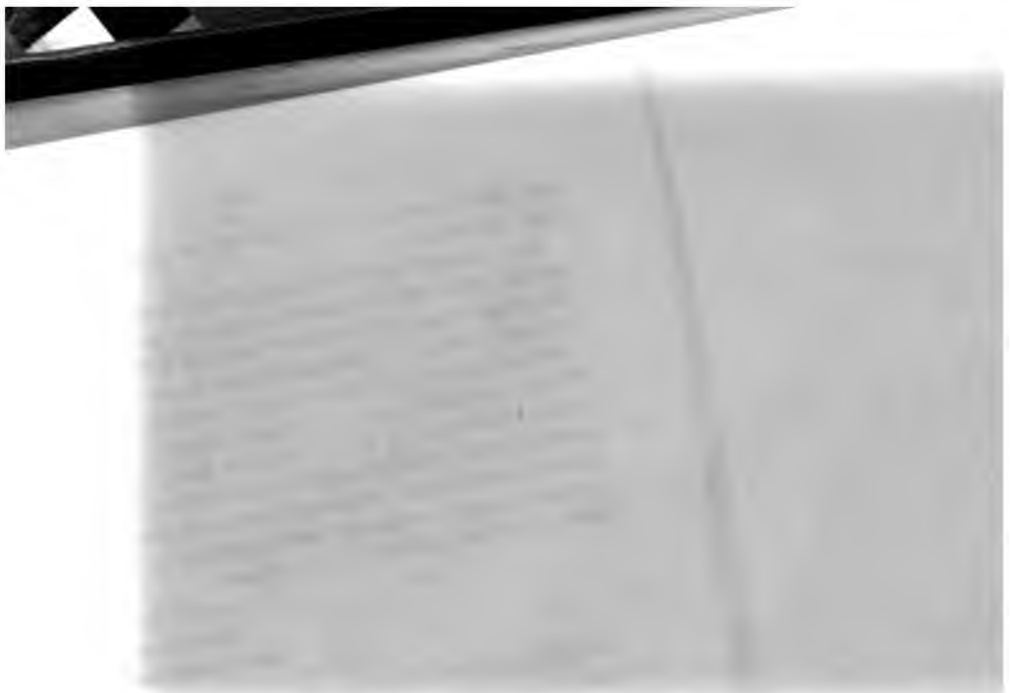
Att ye same Church Meeting Above mentioned itt was alsoe Agreed upon by ye Church to take ye howse as theire owne Ingageing to pay all disbursmts that hath binn out upon itt and to Improve Itt as a Publicque Meeting howse :

Itt is Alsoe Agreed upon by the Church Att ye same meeting that the Church Purchase the Land Apptaining to the howse & the Highway to it & pay 60£s itt being agreed to pay ye owns of itt viz, Phillip Squire & Ellis Callend sixty £ in money in seven yeares time : The agreements above mentioned concerning the meeting howse and land belonging to it sighned and owned by us in the behalfe of the Church.

ISAACK HULL
JOHN RUSSELL
Elders to the said Church.[1]

It seemed too good to be true that after fifteen years of wanderings and of meeting in private houses they were at last to have a meeting-house of their own for public worship. Back Street was then a shady country lane which wound along the shore of the mill pond. It led off from the main thoroughfare from Boston to Charlestown, and was quickly lost among groves and gardens. The site chosen for the meeting-house was unobtrusive, and, as they thought, little likely to arrest the attention of the authorities. It was on private grounds and was held by private individuals. It seemed as unobjectionable as the use of the "house of Symon Lind," which they had rented in 1676. But the General Court had lost none of its watchfulness and soon discovered the new house. The story of the trouble is taken from the "Church Record":

[1] "Church Record."



An 1679-80.

An Account of some troubles y^t we mett in ye year of

In ye beginning of ye year 1679 haveing erected A howse to meet in to worshipp ye lord, there being y^e noe law to prohibitt such a thing, butt soone After (viz) in ye 3^d month of said year att A generall Court we were called in Question for building s^d howse. & forthwith A Law was enacted Against such howses to meet in, without license from ye Court on penalty of forfeiting such howses when mett in 3 days after conviction of breach of ye law : whereupon we did forbear to meet in our howse. (erected for y^e use) for ye present, waiteing on & haveing our expectations from ye lord for his gracious Appearance to make our way plaine before us, and in ye winter following itt pleased ye lord to send us from our^r Brethren in England by lett^e that ye King had granted, we with other of his subjects should have our liberty, ye which he has sent in his letter to ye governm^t as his will & pleasure & y^t we should not be subjected to fines forfeitures or any other Incapassityes, & ye generall Court being called and not voteing a nonconcurrence we proceeded to make use of our howse butt after we had mett in itt fower dayes, we were summonsed to ye Court of Assistants held in boston in ye beginning of ye year 80 to Answer for our breach of the Afores^d law : the Court calling us in private (as itt was usual) Required to give them A possitive Answer whether we would Ingage for ye whole in generall or for ou^rselves in particular to desist meeting in s^d howse untill ye gen^ll Court satt ye next may. we Answered we were incapable to give A possitive Answer by reson we knew not ye mind of our Church butt desired some time to speak with our brethren concerning itt, which was then denyed us, butt ye next morning we sent in this our former request in a few lynes humbly Intreating ye favo^r y^t we might have liberty to Answer these Questions till ye beginning of ye weeke following, which was y^e granted, and one ye 2^d day of ye weeke we had A Church meeting where we did seriously consider of ye matter & did with one consent Agree not to turn ourselves out from our howse, but concluded to send A humble Request for our liberty as our Answer which is As followeth : To the Honorables ye Governor & Magistrates now Assembled at Boston att ye Court of Assistants this 8^th march 167$\frac{8}{9}$ the petition &

declaration of ye society of people commonly knowne or distinguished by ye name of Baptists resideing in & About Boston, Humbly Sheweth :

Imp^m [In primum] that whereas ye onely wise god haveing by his p^rovidence led^r us into y^t ord^e & way of ye gospel of gathering into Church fellowshipp, we doe hereby confess y^t what we did was not out of opposition to or contempt of ye Churches of Christ in New England, butt in a holy Imitation meerly for ye better enjoym^t of ye liberty of our conshiences, ye great motive to this removeall att first into this wilderness.

2^d That ye building A Convenyent place for our publique Church Assembly was noe thought of Affronting Authority, there being noe law in ye Country Against any such practise att ye erecting of this howse, & did therefore think as ye Apostle saith, Where there is noe law there is noe transgression, the dictates of nature or common prudence belonging to mankind, and ye Example or practise of ye Country throughout led to the seeking of this Convenyence.

3^d That there being a Law made in May last Against our meeting in ye place built we did Accordingly submitt to ye same, untill we did fully und^rstand by letters from severall in London y^t itt was his Majestyes pleasure & command (ye common supsedeas to all Corporation lawes, in ye English nation y^t have not had ye royall Assent) y^t we should enjoy ye liberty of our meetings in like manner as other of his protestant subjects, and ye generall Court att their last meeting not having voted A nonconcurrence.

4^thly As therefore ye two tribes & halfe did humbly and meekly vindicate themselves upon ye erecting of there Alter when Challenged for itt by Eleazer and ye messengers of ye tenn tribes, soe doe we hereby confess in like manner y^t we have not designed by this Act Any Contempt of Authority nor Any departing from ye living god or change of his worshipp, excepting our owne opinion, ye lord god of gods he knows itt, Joshua 22. 22 : tho itt be our lott (with ye Apostles) in ye way y^t some call heresy soe to worshipp ye god of our Fathers.

Y^er peticioners therefore haveing noe designe Against ye peace of this place butt being still as redy as ever, to hazard our lives for ye defence of ye ruelers of ye people of god here, doe humbly



request that this our Confession & declaration may find acceptance with this hono^{ble} Court, as that of ye two tribes did with Eleazer, & y^{t} we may still through y^{r} Allowance & Protection Enjoy ye libertyes of gods worshipp in such places as god hath Afforded us, which will greatly obleidg y^{r} peticoners as in duty bound humbly to pray

Signed by us in ye name & consent of ye Church

ISAACK HULL
JOHN RUSSELL
EDWARD DRINKER
THOMAS SKINNER

Butt notwithstanding this our Answer they had upon the 6th day before ordered, If we would not leave our howse to nayle up ye dores and According Impowered ye Marshall by warrant and sent him the same weeke to doe itt, who performed his office by A forcible Entry through Phillipp Squires ground to come to sd howse by reson ye gates were lockt, we required a Coppy of his warrant butt were denyed itt & two of our Brethren went to the secretary desireing we might have a Coppy of ye warrant who Answered he was not to lett us have any. Our dores being now shutt we were Expected the next lords day to meete out In ye yard Itt being a cold wind y^{t} day butt through grace none sustained any harm as for the Courts order which they sent to be nayled upon ye dore itt is as followeth : 'All Psons are to take notice y^{t} by ord^{r} of ye Court ye dores of this howse are shutt up & y^{t} they are Inhibitted to hold any meeting therein or to open ye dores thereof, without lishence from Authority, till ye gennerall Court take further order as they will answer ye Contrary att theire p^{r}ill, dated in boston 8th march *1680*, by ord^{r} of ye Councell

EDWARD RAWSON Secretary.'

Itt is to be observed that in ye year 79 there was A Synod called who in ord^{r} to bring us to ruing Published in print our practise to be one Cause of ye judgm^{ts} of god upon ye land & alsoe in ye beginning of ye year 80 in March M^{r} Mather teacher of ye north Church in Boston putt forth a Book against us wherein did endevo^{r} (by casting all ye Dirt & filth possible) to render us odious declareing our opinion to come from Satan & that they had noe more love for us than Christ hath for Antichrist. Butt to re-

turne our Dores being nayled up we provided A shedd which we made Against ye howse with bords, butt comeing ye next lords day expecting to meete under our shedd, we found our dores sett open & consulting by ou^{r}selves whether to goe in, we considered the Court had not donn itt legally Acting by noe Law, & y^{t} we were denyed a Coppy of ye councells ord^{r} & marshalls warrant. Whereupon we Concluded to goe into ye howse itt being our owne haveing A Civell right to itt & accordingly did & mett with noe disturbance y^{t} day.

I have given in full this exact transcript from our records because of its intrinsic interest and because it has often suffered from inexact quotation.

In 1679 a law was passed, and made retroactive, "that no persons whatsoever, without the consent of the freemen of the town, where they live, first orderly had and obtained at a public meeting, assembled for that end, and license of the County Court, or, in defect of such consent and license, by the special order of the General Court, shall erect or make use of any (meeting) house," on penalty of forfeiting both the house and the land on which it was built. This was intended to give the sanction of law to action against the Baptists for having built this meeting-house. There had been no specific statute before under which the Court could act, and in order to meet this case (for the house was already built) the law was made.

The raw east wind of early March did not frighten our members from meeting in the open air on the green beside their meeting-house for worship. They had become accustomed to petty annoyances, and were not less courageous now than when they braved the terrors of the wintry prisons a few years before.



The Court now scarcely dared venture beyond annoyances and threats.

The land upon which the meeting-house was built belonged to Philip Squire and Ellis Callender jointly, and was held by them as private persons until February 22, 1682, when it was conveyed to the church. The land measured on the northeast about seventy-four feet, on the southeast about sixty feet, on the southwest about sixty-three feet, and on the northwest about fifty-five feet. "Together with the wharfe made up against the s[d] Land on that side next the mill pond, with the priviledge of a way of about twelve feet in breadth now laid out and leading from the street to the s[d] meeting-house." This they might hold "for and so long a time as ye s[d] Church shall hold to and walke in the faith which they now profess," but if they should "decline from this faith and practice, or in case of their annihilation," then the property should revert. This original deed is now in the possession of the church. "The way of about twelve feet" is now known as Stillman Street, and "the street" is now Salem Street. The meeting-house stood on the corner of what is now Salem and Stillman Streets, on the back part of the lot and near the water. In front it had a considerable lawn, in which was a well and pump, to which the whole neighborhood resorted for sweet, fresh water. On this site the church worshiped for one hundred and fifty years. There is no record of the dimensions of this original meeting-house. In outward appearance it was built to resemble a private residence, and with some additions and changes stood until 1771, when a

new house was erected on the same spot. The church continued to assemble in their meeting-house until May 19, when the Assembly before which they had been convented May 11, declared its answer to their petition:

> After the Court had heard their answer and plea, perused their petition and what else was produced, the parties were called in, the Courts sentence in the name of the Court was published to them, that the Court in answer to their petition, judged it meet and ordered, that the petitioners be admonished by the present honored Governor for their offence, and so granted them their petition so far as to forgive them their offence past, but still prohibited them as a society of themselves, or joined with others, to meet in that public place they have built, or any public house except such as are allowed by lawful authority; and accordingly the Governor in open Court gave them their admonition. [1]

This admonition being directly opposed to the king's late commands to his loyal subjects of the Bay Colony seemed stern and forbidding, but the Assembly could now only threaten. It dared not enforce its threat. The Baptists, therefore, quietly received the admonition, but continued to keep their meeting-house open and met regularly in it as an organized church. The cold March wind which blew upon them as they, locked out of their own house, stood in the meeting-house yard for their public worship did not harm them. They regarded themselves as under a divine care, which caused the governor's threats to become equally harmless.

> Att A Church Meeting ye 28[th] of June 1680 Itt was Agreed that ye Church should continue Meeting in Brother Squire's

[1] "Colony Records."



howse, and If they should meet with any opposition then without Any further consideration of the Church, the Brethren in Boston may have there liberty to make use of there Publicque Meeting-howse and soe to continue till the Church shall meet and consider further About itt.[1]

Its doors were never again closed by the civil authorities, nor were the members of the church haled before the Court for their use of it for public worship The peculiar kinds of persecution which they had suffered with little intermission for fifteen years came to a close with this public admonition by the Court. Social ostracism and false representations were still used against them, but persecution under the form of law was ended.

[1] "Church Record."

CHAPTER VIII

JOHN RUSSELL'S NARRATIVE.



VIII

THE Congregational churches kept a general fast in September, 1679, and on the 10th of that month they called together their Synod, which met in Boston. This was called the Reforming Synod, and Dr. Increase Mather was the recognized leader in it. They came together to discuss two questions: *First*, What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England? *Secondly*, What is to be done in the way of reforming these evils?

As may easily be guessed, they had not gotten far in the consideration of these questions when Baptists were found to be among the chief evils. They said:

> Men have set up their thresholds by God's thresholds, and their post by his post. Quakers are false worshippers; and such Anabaptists as have risen up among us, in opposition to the churches of the Lord Jesus, receiving into their society those that have been for scandal delivered unto Satan; yea, and improving those as administrators of holy things, who have been (as doth appear) justly under church censure, do no better than set up an altar against the Lord's altar. Wherefore it must needs be provoking to God, if these things be not duly and fully testified against by every one in their several capacities.

The General Court officially approved of the findings of this Synod against the Baptists, and urged "a careful and diligent reformation of all those provoking evils . . . that so the anger and displeasure of God, many ways manifested, might be averted." This



manifesto, together with many false and injurious charges made against them by Dr. Increase Mather in the March preceding, in a pamphlet entitled "The Divine Right of Infant Baptism," led Pastor John Russell, in behalf of the church, to write a plain statement of the history of the church from the beginning. It is a lucid, honest, and truthful vindication of the Boston Baptists without evidence of partisan spirit.

It was published in London, March 20, 1680. The preface was written and signed by the most eminent Baptist ministers in London. The calm and dispassionate temper of this reply and statement is a fine illustration of that equable spirit with which the church endured through all those early years the false statements and reproaches of its adversaries. The contrast between it and the pamphleteering replies to it, as, for example, Samuel Willard's "*Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam*," or Increase Mather's preface, will arrest the attention of any reader. It is free from vituperation, denunciation, and epithet hurling.

This Narrative has become exceedingly rare. There are but two copies in this country of which I can get any trace, and I have been able to locate but one of these. Since it is the first piece of Baptist literature of distinctly American origin, it seems to have a unique right to be reprinted, and an original right to be printed in a history of this First Church of Boston, of which it is vindicatory. Through the kindness of Prof. H. C. Vedder and Dr. H. G. Weston, of the Crozer Theological Seminary, which possesses a copy, I am able to give it entire.

A BRIEF

NARRATIVE

of some

Considerable Passages Concerning the First Gathering and further Progress of a Church of Christ, in Gospel Order,

in

BOSTON.....IN NEW.....ENGLAND.

Commonly (though falsely) called by the Name of

ANABAPTISTS:

For clearing their innocency from the Scandalous things laid to their charge.

.....

Set forth by JOHN RUSSEL, an Officer of the said Church, with consent of the whole.

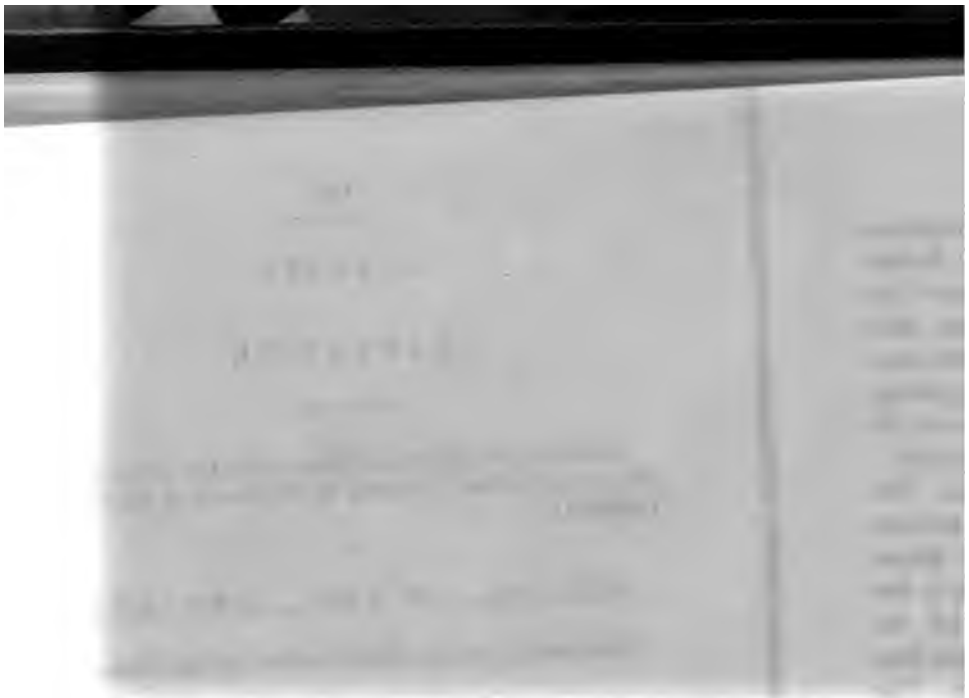
Dated in Boston, 20th, 3d Month, 1680.

.....

LONDON, Printed by J. D. in the Year, 1680.

CHRISTIAN READER.

We leave the ensuing Apology to speak and plead for itself in your own Conscience, the causes of its coming in this Method to your View. The Candor and Ingenuity that ought to be in Men, much more that Grace and Commiseration that possesseth the Hearts of good men, will persuade to a patient hear-



ing and impartial weighing of that Just Defence that is therein made. If any demand why we concern ourselves so much as to prefix this short Epistle in the behalf of those so remote from us; our answer is, That one and the self same Spirit who is in all sincere Christians, conjoyning them as living members into one Body, worketh also in them like passions either as to joy in prosperity, or grief in trouble, whether internal or external; And the very notice and Communication of each others State removes all distance of place, promotes Sympathy, and tends to make their State mutually present with each other. Moreover, the Authors of this Apology have declared their perfect agreement with us both in matters of Faith and Worship, as set down in our late Confession. As for our Brethren of the Congregational Way in Old ENGLAND, both their Principles and Practices, do equally plead for our Liberties as for their own; And it seems most strange that such of the same way in New-England, yea even such (a generation not yet extinct, or the very next successors of them) who chose rather (with liberal estates) to depart from their native Soil into a Wilderness, than be under the imposition and lash of those who upon Religious pretences took delight to smite their Fellow-Servants; should exercise towards others the like severity that themselves with so great hazard and hardship fought to avoid; Especially considering that it is against their Brethren, who avowedly profess and appeal to the same rule with themselves for their guidance in, and decision of all matters relating to the Worship of God, and the ordering of their whole Conversation. And that the present Molestation given to them is meerly for a supposed error in one point relating to the right subject of Baptism, which hath been much controverted amongst Learned, Judicious, Holy and good Men at many seasons ever since the Reformation. Upon such occasions, for one Protestant Congregation to persecute another (where there is no pretence to an infallibility in the decision of all Controversies) seems much more unreasonable than all the Cruelties of the Romish Church towards them that depart from their Superstitions; And certainly if prejudices were removed; and opportunities of Power not abused, but so far improved that the Golden Rule of our Saviour (ALL THINGS WHICH YOU WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO UNTO YOU, SO DO YE UNTO THEM) were duly attended unto and rightly applied in the present case more moderation, yea even compassion would be exercised towards these our Christian Friends by such as now give them trouble: And we heartily pray, that the Honourable Governors in New-England will have that regard to all the Congregational Churches here, as to remit such proceedings, which tend to confirm and justify those who seek to overthrow all their Assemblies, and that they will not, by persisting in any rigorous Course against these their Brethren in the Faith of our Lord Jesus, strengthen the hands of such who have already published, that their proceedings with them of the Congregational way here in this kind, are justified by the process of their Brethren against other dissenters in NEW-ENGLAND. This subject is so large and the plea it affords so rational, that we can hardly keep within the short limits appointed to this Epistle; But we will add no more, save our hearty Prayers for the Peace of them that in every place call upon the name of our Lord Jesus, both their Lord and ours; And shall ever be,

Yours in all Christian respect
and Service to our Power.

WILL: KIFFEN. HANSERD KNOLLES.
DANIEL DYKE. JOHN HARRIS.
WILL: COLLINS. NEH: COX.



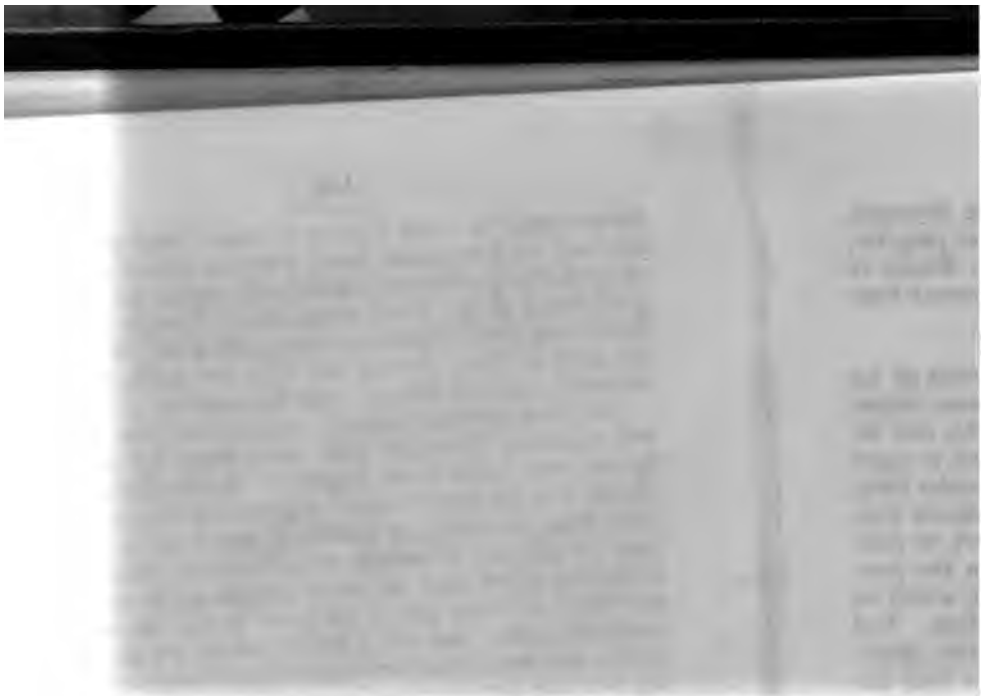
A brief Narrative of some Considerable Passages, concerning the first gathering, and further progress, of a Church of Christ, in Gospel Order, in Boston in NEW ENGLAND, for clearing their innocency from the Scandalous things laid to their charge.

It pleased God to move the Hearts of some of his dear and precious Servants in this Wilderness, whom he had by his good Word and Spirit taught, and instructed in the Way and Order of the Gospel, to agree together to enter into Fellowship as a particular body, or Church, engaging one to another in a solemn Covenant, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to walk in fellowship and communion together, in the practice of all the Holy Appointments of Christ, which he had, or should further make known unto them. And thus they became a visible Church of Christ, Walking in the Practice, and performance of the holy Ordinances of Christ, according to Divine Institution. The persons who began (this so good a work for God), were, Thomas Gold, Thomas Osburne, Edward Drinker, John George, Richard Goodal, William Turner, Robert Lambert: the three last named, were persons whom God (by his Providence some time before) brought out of Old England, who had walked with the Baptized Churches there; as namely Richard Goodal, was of a church in London, of which Mr. Kiffen is an Officer; and William Turner, and Robert Lambert, were of a church in Dartmouth, of which one Mr. Stead was Officer.

No sooner were these Servants of Christ entered upon this work of the Lord, but they met with great troubles and afflictions, as has always befallen those whom the Lord hath been pleased to single out from others to bear witness to his Truth; Much Scandal and reproach hath been cast on them, their troubles, and temptations followed, one upon the neck of another, like the waves of the sea; but these precious

Servants of the Lord having in some good measure counted the Cost before hand, were not moved for any of these things, but were cheerfully carried on by the good hand of the Lord upon them, through all the Afflictions, and Reproaches they met with; And are the most of them now at rest with the Lord, having served the will of God in their Generation.

And now we who survive, considering the many and grevious Scandals that have been by rugged Spirits cast upon these Beginners in the Church of Christ, that are renewed, and augmented from time to time upon us, both by speaking, and writing; And that on purpose to render us odious, and make the World to think that we are a people not fit to live; as indeed we were not, if we were as vile as we are rendered to be. But the Lord, to whom we do both desire, and endeavour to approve ourselves in sincerity will one day clear our Innocency, as the light at noon-day. Considering what is premised, we think ourselves concerned and obliged, for the sake of Christ, and his truth that we do profess and bear witness to, to give some brief account of things, for the clearing ourselves of those heinous things laid to our charge. As to the manifold Sufferings we have undergone in our Persons, Estates and Liberties, we shall not give a particular account at this time; only this in general, That soon after our first beginning, some of us were oft-times brought before Councils, and Courts, threatened, fined, our estates taken away, imprisoned, and banished; but notwithstanding it hath pleased the Lord still to uphold us, in the midst of all these sore troubles, that instead of being weakened and diminished, we have been further strengthened, and increased. Thus wonderful doth the Lord appear from time to time to assist poor, weak Instruments in doing and suffering what he calls them to do for his Name's Sake. Now as touching what we have suffered, and still do suffer in our names, by reason



Of those scandalous things laid to our charge, which are as followeth; Schismatical, Scandalous Persons, Disorderly Disturbers of the Peace; Underminers of the Churches, Neglecters of the Public Worship of God on the Lord's Days, Idolaters, Enemies to Civil Government, &c. To these we shall give some brief Reply.

CHARGE 1.

That we are a Schismatical Company, who have rent ourselves from the Churches of Christ, and do receive into our society such who have, through discontent, disorderly left the Churches with whom they have walked.

Ans. To which we answer, That this is a mistake in those that so charge us. For,

First, As to the first Beginners, who are before named, three of them, viz. Richard Goodal, William Turner, and Robert Lambert were persons who had walked in the same way and order, in the Churches in Old England, who were by the Providence of God, brought into this Land, and had letters of Recommendation from the Churches to whom they did belong.

2. Two of the other four; viz. Edward Drinker and John George, were persons that were never joined to any Church before, who were Persons of good repute, for their sober and honest conversations.

3. The other two; Viz. Thomas Gold, and Thomas Osburne, had walked for some years together in fellowship with a Church, in the Congregational Way, as it is called, and were reputed by all that knew them, to be very Godly men, Men of Holy and blameless Conversations, until such time as they came to question the Baptizing of Infants, not seeing any light for it from the Word of God, and that Baptism should be administered to visible professing Believers; Whereupon, Tho. Gold did withold his children from

Baptism, (as it is called,) and also did manifest his dissent from the Church in this practice, at such times when they did sprinkle their Children, by sitting down: both which was greatly offensive to the Church. For which cause the Church dealt with him, and he remaining unconvinced, they proceed to lay him under Admonition, and wholly denied him Communion with them; Whereas he could then have freely held Communion with them; if they would have borne with his dissentings in that one particular of Infant Baptism. And under this Admonition he continued 7 or 8 Years, living without the enjoyment of the Ordinances of Christ; about which time our Church was gathered. And likewise Thomas Osburne, for his not seeing light for the Baptizing of Infants, dissenting from it; and as also his withdrawing communion from the Church, being dissatisfied with that rugged frame of Spirit in them towards those that differed from them; as also because he could not enjoy all the Ordinances of Christ with them; for which cause the Church dealt with him, and laid him under Admonition. So that they did not rend from the Church so as to become guilty of Schism, but were shut out by them, from Communion with them, and that for no other cause, than hath been already expressed.

4. As to our receiving into our Society such who have disorderly rent themselves from the Church, we answer; That there have bin since the beginning of this Church, about 4 or 5 persons that have left the Churches they had walked with, joyned themselves unto us, the most of them being Persons of good repute for Godliness, both before, and since, that could never be justly charged with anything of a Scandalous Nature. The grounds of their leaving or withdrawing themselves from the Churches of whom they were, are chiefly these two:

1. Their not seeing light for the Baptizing of In-

fants, as also being convinced, that themselves were Unbaptized; And that it was their duty to seek to enjoy it, the which they could not obtaine in those Churches; neither would these Churches admit them to hold Communion with them, if they did obtain it elsewhere, and were contented to remain with them; for this hath bin tried.

2. Their dissatisfaction in respect of that bitterness of Spirit in them, to those that in these respects did differ from them, and therefore could not with freedom of Spirit continue with them. And further, for the most part of them, they did not come off, before they had used means to obtain free leave, and liberty from the Churches to which they did belong; but all means used not being successful to obtain it, then they took it. So that it appears that it was not for any sinful Distemper of Discontent, or because they were weary of the Yoke of Christ, or that they would be more at Liberty from under the Discipline and Government of Christ, but out of tenderness of Conscience, because of some things practised, which they could not see light for; As also because they could not injoy all the Ordinances of Christ with them; and that they might injoy all the Ordinances of Christ with more purity, and worship him more according to Gospel-institution. Now whether this be to be accounted Schism, we leave to the judgment of sober Christians.

CHARGE 2.

That we are Scandalous persons, and that in these three respects; (1) That the foundation was laid with excommunicate Persons. (2) In that we called such to Administer the holy things of God among us, who were justly for Scandal cast out of the other Churches. And (3) for receiving such into our Society.

Ans. This is a gross mistake; for first, as to those who were the first beginners of this Church, who were

seven in number, all of them Men of good repute for Godliness among their Neighbours, but two of them were excommunicate Persons, viz. Thomas Gold, and Thomas Osburne, of whom there hath been some account given, in pag. 4. And concerning whom we shall give some further account. These Persons as aforesaid, being (by the Church to whom they did belong) laid under Admonition, and wholly shut out from Communion with them in the Ordinances of Christ; and one of them, namely, Thomas Gold, having so remained for 7 or 8 years; in which space of time he was brought before seven or eight Courts, and in some of them to be tryed in order to Banishment, And for no other crime, then witholding his Childe from being sprinkled; who, after so long waiting, could have no help in the case, but was like so to continue all his days, without the injoyment of the Ordinances of Christ. And further, being convinced that it was his duty himself to be Baptized according to the Institution of Christ, and there being a competent number of them thus-inclined, and agreed in their principles; (viz. the Persons named in pag. 1.) They took it into their consideration to gather themselves into a Church-state, that so they might be in the practice and enjoyment of all the precious Ordinances and Appointments of Christ, according to the will of their Lord and Master; which they did undertake, after many consultations about it, and many Solemn seekings of the Lord for direction in so great an Undertaking. Upon which proceeding of theirs, so soon as known, the Church with which Thomas Gold and Thomas Osburn had formerly walked, sent for them, to deal further with them; who at first thought not to have gone, being now not of them; but on further consideration, and being sent for (the second time) they determined to go to them, and give them a hearing, but told the Messengers that were sent to them, that they could not come on that day they required,



his being called to office, he being also a man who was in some good measure fitted, and qualified with the gifts and Graces of the Spirit of God, for such a Work; and indeed proved an Eminent Instrument in the hand of the Lord, for the carrying on this work of God in its low and weak beginnings, when exposed to great sufferings.

The third thing for which we are rendered Scandalous, is, the receiving into our Society those, who for moral Evils have bin justly cast out of the Churches.

Ans. To which we answer, That since the first gathering of this Church, which was on the 28th of the 3d Mon. 1665. there have bin added about sixty Persons or more, of which number, there have bin but two, that were cast out of other Churches, viz. Thomas Foster, and John Farnum, concerning whom we shall give some brief account. (1) As for Thomas Foster, the ground and cause for which the Church to whom he did belong, did first deal with him, was only his dissenting from them in Infants-Baptism: he not seeing any light from the Word of God for it, did show his Dissent, in departing the Meetings when that was perform'd; for until this time he was in repute among them for a very Godly man, and is so to this day among the generality of people to whom he is known; and we doubt not but that he is so still in the Consciences of those who have proceeded against him, who indeed is an aged, grave, sober Christian. But the Church dealing with him for the crime above mentioned, and not being able to convince him from the Word of God, but that he still held his judgment in that matter, they proceeded to lay him under Admonition, and wholly debarr'd him Communion with them; until such time as he should repent, and reform; (though he then could, and would have gladly held communion with them, if they would have borne with him in that one particular) but lying under this



tion for some time, and seeing no hope of
ation, unless he would act against his own
ice, And also being further convinced, that it
duty to be Baptized, (according to both the
and example of our Lord Jesus Christ,) he
himself to us, by whom he was Baptized, and
into fellowship. Which being some time
:en notice of, the Church to which he did be-
l proceed, from their Admonition to Excom-
ion, and delivered him unto Satan, rendering
ter, or cause, for which they dealt with him,
it to last, to be the breach of 4 of the moral
; viz. the 2. 3. 4. and 5. but had not anything
his charge, from first to last, but what hath
fore delivered, excepting any thing of infirm-
might appear in him, in the managing of
ference, by which any advantage might be

om whence we observe these two things, (1)
grounds of the Churches proceeding against
m first to last was not for any Scandalous or
Evils, but for matter of conscience in things
he did differ from them.
iat this Excommunication was some consider-
ie after his being received into fellowship with
was not under the sentence of Excommunica-
ien we received him. Now whether the re-
of this Person into fellowship be matter of
l, We leave to the Consideration of the wise
ber Christian.
e next place come's in Consideration the case
Farnum, who was under the sentence of Ex-
nication when he was received by us into
hip, and he is all that ever we did receive, that
such a capacity.
concerning this man, whilest he did walk in
hip with the Church by whom he was Excom-
ted, he was in repute among them for a very

Godly Man, and was deputed by them to be a Deacon. But when he came to dissent from the Church in the Baptizing of Infants, then they became disaffected towards him, and he being also dissatisfied with his own Baptism that he had in his Infancy, and looking on himself Unbaptized, and being also dissatisfied with the rugged Spirit, that did so much appear in the Church towards those that did in these things differ from them, he did then withdraw from Communion with them, and did often frequent our Meeting, which was one thing for which the Church did proceed in dealing with him; unto which were gathered divers other things, and laid to his charge, which had a face of Scandal on them, as they were taken, and construed: But his unchristian carriage towards them, in the time of their dealing with him, was considerable, and therefore in the receiving of this man into fellowship, We must acknowledge that there was a defect, but yet not a wilful defect, however it may be rendered by our Opponents. Was there ever any Church so perfect in all their Actions (especially in their first and weak beginnings) as to be free from all defect, and not to have done anything that they might see cause afterwards to judge it had been better left undone?

The Church was then under manifold Temptations and Distractions, by reason of the opposition they met with; but not long since, about some 2 or 3 years past, there being a great Clamour revived, and renewed upon us, for receiving of Persons excommunicated for moral Evils, and that in the issue it centered on this man, we were much dissatisfied, and determined to make diligent search to know the truth of it, that we might clear ourselves.

The which accordingly we did, and sent Messengers to the Officer of the Church by whom he was cast out, and procured under his hand from the Church Records, a copy of their proceedings with him, and

the ground thereof, which having obtained, and diligently perused, did find that his Carriage and Behaviour towards the Church in the time of their dealing with him, were justly offensive, unchristian like, and much unbecoming the Gospel, which was the chief matter of fact we could find in all their charges. Whereupon we then laboured to convince him of the evil of them, and kept him off from Communion, until he should give satisfaction, wherein he had miscarried; who did in a short time fall under his offences, and gave us good satisfaction, and tendered the same to the Church, by whom he was excommunicated; by which they were well satisfied, excepting one, who would not be satisfied unless he would come and joyn with them again, but that he could not yield to. This hath bin affirmed by some of their Members to some of us.

Now from what we have said in this matter, this is to be observed, That though there was an oversight in the receiving of this Man; and that the Church was not so careful to inquire how things were, or were hard to give credit to what they might have reported of his Miscarriage to the Church, as things were then circumstanced; it being designed by our opposites to cast all the reproach on us that they could any manner of way, to make us vile in the Eyes of the People, hoping thereby to prevent (at least) our increasing. Yet we have now cleared ourselves from being of such principles, as to receive any Scandalous person or persons, justly excommunicated for moral Evils, by what we have done, and the pains we have taken in this matter, as hath bin declared; and therefore how unjust a thing it is still to lay such things to our Charge, to scandalize our Name, as hath been done of late in their Printed Book, viz. "The Conclusions of the late Synod," and also in a Book newly printed, entitled, "The divine Right of Infant Baptism," we leave to consideration.

CHARGE 3.

Another thing laid to our Charge is, That we are disorderly persons, and walk disorderly.

Ans. This is also a mistake: for our practice, and walking, is according to, and agreeable with the Orders of the Lord Jesus Christ, therefore orderly: for we walk in Church-fellowship together; and continue in the Apostles Doctrine, Fellowship, Breaking Bread, and Prayer, Acts. 2. and that on the first day of the week, by Persons elected, and ordained to Office, for the Administration of the holy Ordinances of Christ.

CHARGE 4.

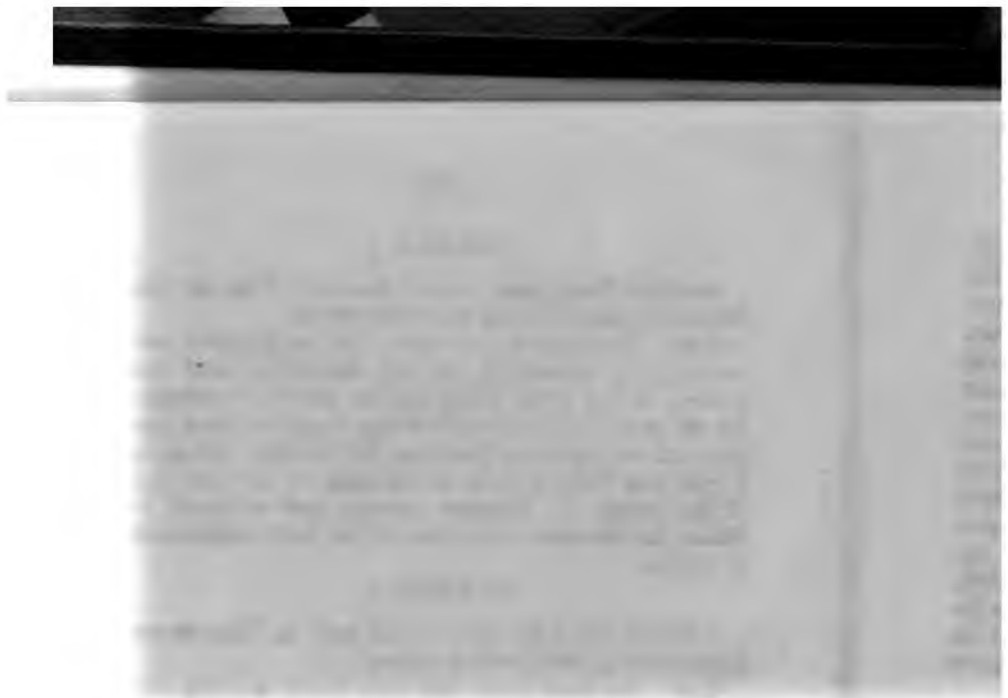
Another thing we are Charged with is, That we are Disturbers of the Publick Peace.

Ans. We have never yet been found making any disturbance, by raising any tumults, or causing any Sedition, either in Church or Commonwealth; nor are those that accuse us, able to prove the things whereof they do accuse us. Indeed after the way that is called Heresie, so worship we the God of our Fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law, and the Prophets; and have hope towards God of the Resurrection of the Dead, both of the just and unjust, and herein do exercise our selves always, to have a conscience void of offence towards God, and towards Man. Act. 24. 13, 14, 15, 16. We peaceably follow our lawful Imployments, disturbing no Man, being desirous to have peace with all men.

CHARGE 5.

We are charged to be underminers of the Churches.

This is also a great mistake: we never designed, neither do to this day design any such thing, but heartily desire and daily pray for the well being, flourishing, and Prosperity of all the Churches of





hear in their Assemblies. For some who have desired to joyn with them, after they were Baptized, have bin denyed, and that for no other reason than this, that they had submitted to Baptism according to the Command of Christ, and could see no light for Infant Baptism.

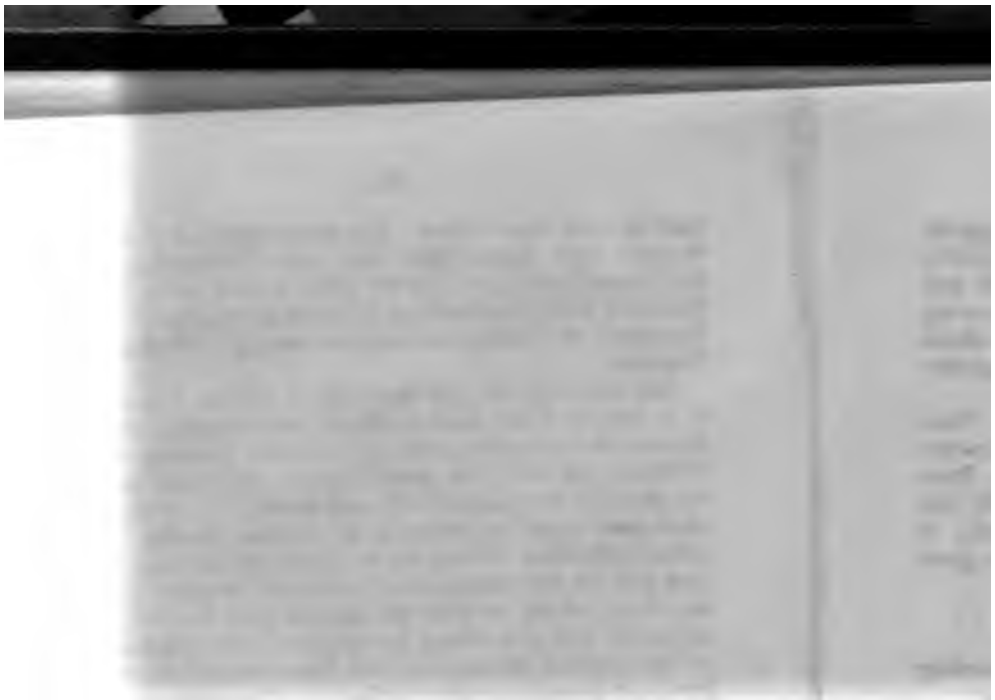
And secondly, for our meeting in Private Houses: It is true we have done so, for we must meet in such Houses as we have to meet in. But our Meeting was Publick, any one, that would, might come, and since we have for our convenience, and to take off the aspersions cast on us for meeting in Private Houses, obtained a Publick House, or a House on purpose for that use, we are become more offensive to some than we were before, so that we cannot give content to some one way nor other; for we have been shut out of our Publick House, and the Doors nayled up, and have bin forced to meet without in the open air on a very cold day. Though by the next day they were open again, we know not how, but do yet question whether we shall injoy the liberty of our House for Publick Worship or no; so that from what hath been said, it appears, that we are much wronged in this Charge.

CHARGE 7.

That we are Idolaters, and therefore not to be suffered, as in the late Synod Book is concluded.

And the Scriptures they bring to prove it, are these; Josh. 22. 19. Psa. 99. 8. Ezek. 43. 8. Hos. 11. 6.

Ans. The Lord God of Gods knows, and Israel shall know that we are innocent in this matter, Josh. 22. 21, 22, 23. and that what we have done, is not in rebellion, nor transgression, to turn from following the Lord, or worshipping him according to his own appointments, but that we may with more freedom of Spirit worship the Lord together in



We do believe that it will appear one day
t we profess and practice, are not our own
as, not our own threshold, but God's thresh-
r is there such difference between us, and
at do thus accuse us, as that we should be
dered; we hope that we all agree in the same
on, Christ Jesus, and all own the same Word
Rule: though we are imperfect in our under-
s, and so are they, and who is not? The
rgive them, we desire to forgive them, and
them.

CHARGE 8.

e charged to be enemies to Civil Government.
We know no reason why we should be charged
is, not in the least degree. (1) It is directly
our Principles, and contrary to what we as-
a Confession of Faith, that we formerly gave
: Court, as also to that Confession of Faith
ut forth by our Brethren in Old England,
Confession we own in every particular. (2)
tinual Prayers to God for them, according to
1. 1, 2. will witness against this charge. (3)
istant subjection and obedience to all their
th actively (as far as we can with a good Con-
and wherein we could not Actively, there we
en Passively obedient; in suffering what hath
icted on us, without seeking any revenge in
t.
thly. In paying all due demands whatsoever;
ng desirous to withhold from Cæsar at any
ay of his dues. In a word both our Persons
tates are always ready at command to be serv-
in the defence of the Authority, and Country,
have bin voluntarily offered on the high places
ield in the time of the Countrey's greatest Ex-
; we have not thought our lives too dear, to
our hands in the defence of the Countrey. For

divers of us did with some others, freely offer ourselves for the service of the Countrey against the Indians, even in the time of their greatest distress; Among whom was William Turner, whom they pleased to make Captain of that Company, who had bin one of the greatest Sufferers among us, for the profession of Religion. He was a very worthy man for Souldiery; and Edward Drinker, who had bin another Sufferer, whom they pleased to make Lieutenant; And by the presence of the Lord with them, they were made instruments of the preservation of the Town from the rage of the Heathen, who did violently beset it, and break into it, but they being there, beat them out, and after this by Captain Turner (who was Commander in Chief at that time) as an Instrument in the hand of the Lord, was the greatest blow given to the Indians of any that they had received; for after this they were broken and scattered, so that they were overcome, and subdued with ease. In this Fight did good Captain Turner lose his life. Here it is to be observed that those who had suffered so much from the Countrey, and have been Scandalized as Enemies to the Countrey, and their Priviledges, freely offering themselves in the Service of the Countrey, have been (through the Lord's presence with them) some of the principal Instruments to subdue the Barbarous Heathen, and so deliver the Countrey from its great distress, which may stand as a witness of our Fidelity to the Government to the World's End.

Thus have we bin vilified, and greatly reproached, and are still to this day. It being without any just reason laid on us, that we are one chief cause of all the Judgments of God on the Countrey. We do not excuse ourselves, as not to have share, or part in many of the Sins that have provoked the Lord against Poor New-England; Neither have we been freed from having our part with others in the general Calamities that God hath brought on this poor place. Yet it is



them, they are no new Arguments, but such as have been oft-times sufficiently answered. As to the strange stories that be in it, we know not whether they be true or false, we may have as much ground to question them, as to believe them: but if we grant they may be true, and that to the utmost extent of what they are set out to be; it makes us, nor the truth we profess, never the worse, though it may cause us, and the Truth to be evil spoken of by some, as the miscarriages of the professors of Truth, do cause the truth they profess, and the innocent professors thereof, to be evil spoken of; but those that profess the fear of God should know better than so to practice. And may not he that hath a mind to it, write a great Volume of most Hideous Crimes, Abominations, Murthers, Cruel Massacres, Uncleanness, and fearful Debaucheries, yea Horrid Seditions, and Insurrections, that have from time to time been perpetrated, by a very great, yea, by the greatest number of those that are for Infant Baptism? and would it be well taken, and savour of a good Spirit, to charge all these Evils upon all those that are for Infant Baptism; and make it an Argument to condemn them; and their practice, as the Author of this Book hath done on the other hand? But we shall not dabble ourselves with such dirty work, wickedly to injure those who are Holy and Innocent, though we may judge them to be in an error, as they may judge also of us; it is better to pray one for another, that we all may be led into all Truth, by the Spirit of Truth.

We shall speak particularly (only) to what he saith in the close of his Book, in page 26; where first he is pleased to say we are combin'd in opposition to the Churches of Christ in New-England, this hath bin sufficiently answer'd in the foregoing discourse.

Secondly, He chargeth us with the Sin of Jeroboam, in making of the lowest people Priests. We easily understand what he meaneth in this; our Evil

respect, is our calling to office those who have
ı bred up in Colledges, and taught in other
s, but have bin bred up to other callings but
ɔt because we are against Learning, for we do
it, and honor it in its place; and if we had
among us, and that they were, together with
therwise duly qualified for the work of the
ry, we should readily improve them. But we
t think that the Spirit of God is locked up
the narrow limits of Colledge-Learning, that
are none fit to be called to office in a Church
ch, nor that all such are fit for such a Work, be
ever so great Scholars; neither doe we think
ll those that have not that Learning, are to be
nted the lowest of the People. God had indeed
led the Priesthood to the Tribe of Levi; He
et apart that Tribe for that Work by a Divine
ution. But we cannot find that the Lord (by
e Institution) hath tyed the work of the Ministry
men of such Learning only, but whom he will,
s and qualifies for that work. Neither are we
vithout plain Rules in the New Testament to
t us in this matter.

irdly; He chargeth us with a pernicious Prin-
in the Confession of our Faith; (that is) that
vers baptized, are visible Saints, and fit matter
visible Church. But who dares deny this to be
nd Truth? which he is pleased to call a per-
us Principle. As for the conclusion he draws
thence, viz. That there are no visible believers
hose that are Baptized, is his own, and not ours;
improvement that he makes of it, and not what
nake of it. Far be it from us to judge all that
not Baptized, not to be visible Saints: for we
e that the Lord hath many precious People in
World that are not Baptized, according to or in
manner that we Baptize; and further we judge
: they should be visible Saints, before, Baptized,

or else they have no right to Baptism, for it is not Baptism that can make Saints. And as for our esteeming, and looking on Infant Baptism as nothing, or a nullity, that is true; and we can look on it no otherwise, till we see light to own it to be that which he thinks of it, viz. of Divine Right, which we cannot see any ground from the Word of God to do. And as for not owning their Churches to be the Churches of Christ, we never yet denied them to be Churches of Christ. It is enough for every one to prove his own Work. But we have owned them as Churches of Christ, and do look at them as such: for where there is true matter joyned together in the bond of a Holy Covenant, they may be looked at as a true Church, though they may be defective in some things; and for not owning it, when put to it in a Publick Assembly, there might be good reason for that; but it was not denyed then. Christ himself did not answer questions put to him sometimes, when he knew they were proposed for an evil end. Again, he seems to take some notice of the time that we chose to make our disturbance in, (as he call's it) and the Animator thereof. We know not well what he means by it, and therefore do not well know what to say to it. But as to the reflection of making disturbance, he seems as though he would make the World to believe that we had caused some Tumult, or Sedition, or made some Insurrection. But the thing he means, was the Act of our first gathering into a Church-state, which was not openly done, whereby there should be any disturbance caused; neither was there any, neither have we from first to last ever made or caused any disturbance; but the truth is, we have suffered very much disturbance and have seldom been suffered to be at rest, or quiet, though none more desirous to be at peace than we. But who have bin the principal cause of our trouble and disturbance, we shall not here name; It is well enough



ı who they are, and how much disturbance we met with, how often our Meetings have been bed by Constables, and Marshals. Further, as : other two things: viz. Calling to Office one ras under Church-Censure, and also the receiving :h who for Scandal were justly excommunicated, have already been fully answered; and therefore all not speak further to it here. Oh what mat- Lamentation is it, that there should be such a t breathing among those that profess Godliness, such bitterness springing up, and that in New- and! Can the like be parallel'd in the whole tian World, that a People that fled from Op- ion, into this Wilderness for Liberty of Con- ce, should become such great Oppressors of s for their Conscientiousness to the Lord in the :rs of his Worship? Yea, even such who are with them too, in all the main points of Re- ı? Surely this cannot but be greatly provoking ıe eyes of the Lord, and doubtless hath had, ıg other Sins, a great hand in pulling down all ore Judgments of the Lord on this poor place. ew England, cease any longer to smite thy w-Servants, lest he that hath already removed of thy Candle-Sticks, whilst thou hast been ıring (though yet in vain) to remove one, come remove all the rest, and make thy Habitation a lation for ever.

FINIS.

ıe Christian spirit, the broad charity, the equable er, the unanswerable logic, and the clear com- ension of this production are manifest. The ab- : of all vituperation, in an age when very good deemed it a right part of theological controversy ırl harsh and abusive words at their adversaries,

is peculiarly noticeable. The luminous exposition of Christian liberty, and the unyielding adherence to the Bible as the sole ground of faith and practice, are worthy of all admiration. Its large catholicity, its genuine courtesy, its kindliness, and its firmness, mark Elder Russell as no ordinary man and as a fit successor of Thomas Goold. It is a matter of just pride that the first piece of Baptist literature put forth on this continent should be so worthy an exhibition of our views, our temper, and our aims.

But the judgment upon this pamphlet of many of his contemporaries in the orthodox pulpits may be clearly discovered from the following letter written by the Rev. Thomas Cobbet, minister in Lynn and afterward in Ipswich, to Rev. Increase Mather, of Boston:

I also receiued from you a booke of Mr Willard's in answer to the late Absurd & Scandalous narrative of John Russel and his Anabaptisticall crew in Boston; which fallacious & fowle mouthed Russel, although suddenly taken away by Death, & not long surviving his slanderous narrative, yet his Associats & Abbettors thercin will have no cause now to bee wise in theyr owne conceits, beeing so fully answered according to theyr folly, in & by this good booke of Mr Willard's.

The reader of to-day will find it extremely difficult to discover the goodness of Mr. Willard's pamphlet, which was so easily discovered two hundred years ago by pious Mr. Cobbet. Nevertheless Mr. Cobbet had a keener eye for logic than many men of later date as this further extract from his letter witnesseth:

And I add, that theyr very principle of makeing infant Baptisme a nullity, it doth make at once, all our churches, & our re-



ligious, Civill state and polity, and all the officers & members thereof to be unbaptized & to bee no Christians, & so our Churches to bee no churches: & so we have no regular power to choose Deputies for any Generall Courts, nor to chuse any Magistrates.[1]

This logic is inexorable, and the issues involved in the controversy are herein clearly set forth. Nor was Mr. Cobbet alone in his discerning the vital bearing of the question of infant baptism on the existence of a theocratic State. There were many others who saw with equal clearness that the abandonment of infant baptism would be the utter destruction of the compact between Church and State.

[1] "Mass. Historical Collection," Vol. XXXVIII., p. 291.

CHAPTER IX

DEATH OF RUSSELL. CHURCH AT KITTERY. KING'S CHAPEL. DISCIPLINE OF FARNUM AND DRINKER. ELISHA CALLENDER.



IX

DURING the first period of quiet that the church had known, and when for a little time it was free from constant harassment, it was called to bury its beloved first pastor, Thomas Goold.

Again a similar experience came to them. They had gained the silent though unwilling acquiescence of the authorities for their assembling in their own meeting-house. The civil enactments against them were not enforced. They had vindicated themselves against false charges. They were on the eve of prosperity and quiet, when they were called to part from their second pastor. "On 21st of Decemb[r] our Reverend Elder John Russell deceased" (1680).[1] He had been a fellow-sufferer with them almost from the beginning. He had been pastor for one year and five months. He was a man of sterling qualities, steadfast in conduct, devout in spirit, and possessed of more than ordinary ability. The church at once provided for the carrying on of its work,

and upon the 22[d] Instant Itt was unanimously Agreed upon by the Brethren that Bro Drinker should Carry on the work of god in Boston in ye Absence of ye Elder Hull in ye Afternoone on ye lords Day and itt was alsoe Agreed upon y[t] Brother Callender should be usefull in Carrying on ye work of god on ye forenoone in ye Elder's absence.[1]

It is not known how long after Elder Russell's

[1] "Church Record."



eath, that Isaac Hull was ordained pastor. It was robably in 1682. Elder Myles was present, Nov. 12, 58 1, to baptize Mary Dill, by which I conclude that r. Hull was not yet ordained. The church had a markable body of sturdy, sensible laymen, who eadily carried on its work during these changes. homas Osborne, Benjamin Sweetser, Ellis Callender, homas Foster, Thomas Skinner, and Philip Squire ere men who would guarantee stability in any hurch. They knew no fear. They could not be erved from the straight path of liberty. They had an unusually clear perception of the issues involved in the struggle, and a persistent faith in the final victory.

The church now fixed a regular time for its business meetings as follows:

Att A Church Meeting the 6th of 12mo 168½ Itt was agreed upon that Every Second day of the weeke following the day of breaking bread that itt should be appointed as a constant day for the Church meeting about the orders and discipline and other occasionall Affaires of the Church.[1]

Male members only voted in church business meetings. At this time the brethren who lived at Newberry desired to be set apart by themselves as a church. "Agreed uppon at a church meeting that we the Church at Boston have assented unto the setleing of the church at Newberry."[1] No date is attached to this record but it must have been during 1682. This church had as members resident in Newberry, George Little and wife, baptized in Boston, in 1676, William Sayer and wife, Benjamin Moss and

[1] "Church Record."

wife, Edward Woodman and wife, John Sayer, and Abel Merrill, all of whom were baptized in Boston, 1st, 4th mo., 1681. How many more there were is unknown. The church in Newberry was in existence in 1689, but there is no certain record of it beyond that time, although there is a hint that it was alive later.

A similar attempt at church planting took place in Piscataqua (Kittery), Province of Maine. "William Screven & his wife & Humphrey Churchwood were baptized the 21st of 4mo 1681."[1] In the following February a number more from Piscataqua came to Boston and were baptized. A few months later these brethren and sisters sent word through one of their number to the church in Boston,

that here are a competent number of well established people whose hearts the Lord hath opened insomuch that they have gladly received the word and do seriously profess their hearty desire to the following of Christ and to partake of all his holy ordinances, according to his blessed institutions and divine appointment: therefore I present my ardent desire to your serious consideration, which is, if the Lord see it fit, to have a gospel church planted here in this place: and in order hereunto, we think it meet that our beloved brother William Screven, who is, through free grace, gifted and endued, with the spirit [ ] to preach the gospel shall be ordained.[2]

To this request the church made immediate response and sent the following letter:

A Coppy of A writing given to Brother Screeven in answer to A Request by letter from A Brother and others. Agreed upon att A Church meeting the 11th of 11mo *1681*. From the Church of

[1] "Church Record." [2] Backus, Vol. I., p. 401.

Christ in Boston the 11th of 11mo *1681*. To all whome itt may concerne these are to Certify that our beloved Brother William Screeven is A member in Comunion with us and haveing had tryall of his gifts Amongst us and finding him to be A man whome god hath quallifyed & furnished with the gift of his holy spiritt and grace, enabling him to open and Apply the word of god which may be through the blessing of the lord Jesus usefull in his hand for the begitting and building up soules in the knowledg of god, doe therefore Appoint & Approve & alsoe encourage him to Exercise his gift in ye place where he lives or else where as the providence of god may cast him & soe the lord help him to Ey his glory in all things and to walk humbly in ye fear of his name.

signed by us in the behalf
of ye rest ISAACK HULL
JOHN FARNUM.[1]

Elder Screven seems to have exercised his gifts with very gracious results, for in a few months the Baptists in Kittery so increased that they desired to be set apart as a separate church. They sent therefore a formal request to the church of which they were members:

Upon serious & Solemn Consideration of the Church About A motion or Request made by severall members that lived att Kittery, yt they might become A Church & that they might p-ceed therein provided they were such as should be Approved for such A Foundacon work, the Church gave there grant and att ye time Appointed did send severall messengers to make yt strict Inquiry & Examinacon as they ought in such A case who att there Returne brought ye Coppys here Inserted 26th of 7mo *1682*.

The Church of Christ att Boston yt is baptized upon profession of faith haveing taken into serious consideration ye Request of our Brethren att Kittery Relateing to there being A Church by themselves yt soe they might Injoy the precious ordinances of Christ which by reson of distance of habitacon they butt seldome

[1] "Church Record."

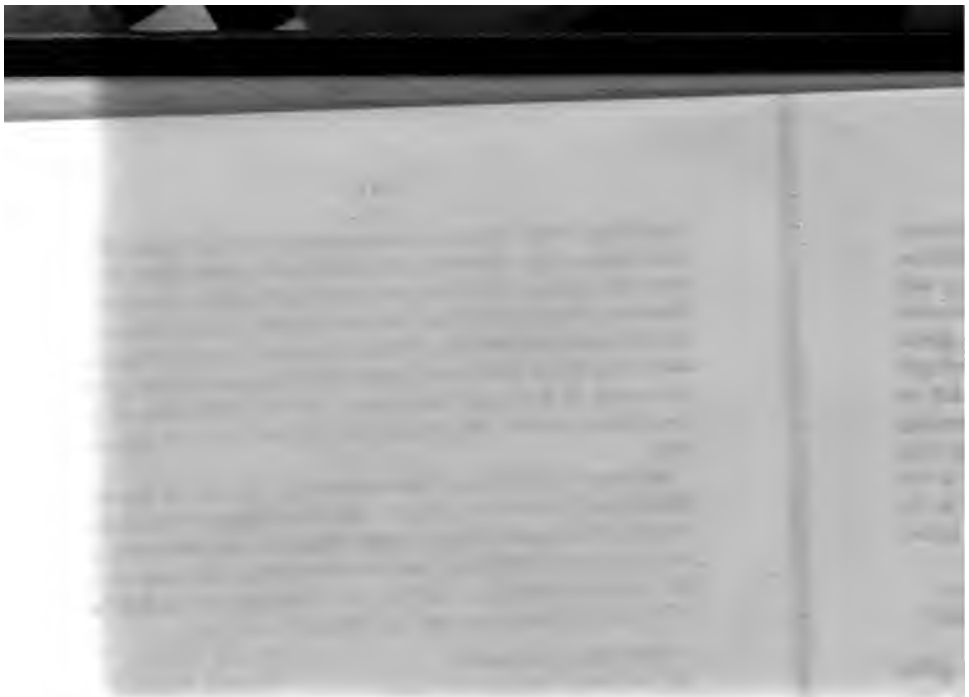
could injoy have therefore thought meet to make Choice of us whose names are undwritten as Messengers to Assist them in ye same and coming up to them we have found them A Competent Number and in ye same faith with us for upon carefull examination of them in matters of Doctrine & practise & soe finding one with us by there (we hope) Conshiencous Acknowledgmt of ye Confession of faith putt forth by ye Elders & Brethren of ye Churches in London and ye Contry in England dated in ye year *1682*.

And they haveing given themselves up to ye lord & too one Another in A Solemn Covenant to walk as said Covenant may Express & alsoe haveing Chosen theire officers whome they with us have Appointed & ordained, we doe therefore in ye name of ye lord Jesus & by the Appointmt of his Church deliver them to be A Church of Christ in ye faith and order of ye Gospel.

signed by us in ye name
of ye Church the 25 of 7mo *1682*. ISAACK HULL
THOMAS SKINNER
PHILLIPP SQUIRE.

A Coppy of there said Covenant.

Wee whose names are here undwritten doe solemnly & on good Consideration god Assisting us by his grace give up our selves to ye lord & to one another in Solem Covenant, wherein wee doe Covenant & promise to walk with god & one with another In A dew and faithfull observance of all his most holy & blessed Commandm.ts Ordinances Institutions or Appointments, Revealed to us in his sacred word of ye ould & new Testament and according to ye grace of god & light att present through his grace given us, or here after he shall please to discover & make knowne to us thro his holy Spiritt according to ye same blessed word all ye Dayes of our lives and this will wee doe, If ye lord graciously please to Assist us by his grace and Spiritt & to give us Divine wisdome, strength, knowledg, & understanding from Above to p-forme ye same without which we cann doe nothing John 15 : 4 2 Corinthians 3 : 5.



[redacted]

Signed by

W^m^ SCREEVEN,[1] Elder
HUMPHRY CHURCHWOOD,[1] Deacon:
ROBERT WILLIAMS[4]
JOHN MORGRADYE[3]
RICHARD CUTT[4]
TIMOTHY DAVIS[3]
LEONARD DROWN[2]
W^m^ ADDAMS[3]
HUMPHRY AXILL[3]
GEORG LITTEN[3]

This is A true Coppy compared with ye origenall & owned by all our Brethren and seven sisters as Attest

W^m^ SCREEVEN in behalf of ye rest.[5]

This was the first Baptist church planted in Maine, and this covenant is the oldest Baptist covenant of which I have been able to get any trace among English-speaking people. The so-called "Holy Covenant" of the Swansea Church is more of the nature of a "Confession of Faith," and I judge was intended to be a declaration of doctrinal beliefs, rather than a covenant in the ordinary acceptation. Whether it was a copy of the covenant of the mother church or not is unknown. There is no record of any covenant which this church at its organization adopted. Its Confession of Faith, made in 1665, is not accompanied by a covenant, so far as the records show. The cove-

[1] Baptized in Boston 21st 4mo *1681*
[2] " " " 17th 10mo *1681*
[3] " " " 20th 12mo *1681*
[4] " " " July *1682*
[5] "Church Record."

nant which is now used by the church was adopted some time after 1836, and is, for substance, the one which usually accompanies the "New Hampshire Confession."

The church newly formed at Kittery soon found itself harassed by persecutors. The old and long disproved slanders against Baptists were revived by the Congregational minister (Mr. Woodbury) of the town, and the magistrates were incited to act promptly and decisively against the church. The members were threatened with fines and banishment if they continued their meeting together. William Screven was cast into jail and remained a prisoner for some time. April 12, 1682, he was fined ten pounds by the Court, and forbidden "to keep any private exercise at his own house, or elsewhere, upon ye Lord's Day, either in Kittery, or any other place, within ye limits of this province."[1] Churchwood and other members were repeatedly fined, and every effort was made to root out the Baptist heresy. After such petty and persistent persecution, they decided to emigrate to some region where they would not be exposed to incessant harassment, and where freedom of worship was established. Accordingly, at some time in 1684, the most of them, under the lead of Pastor Screven, removed to South Carolina and settled near the present site of Charleston. They built themselves a meeting-house in 1700, on the site still occupied by the First Baptist Church of Charleston. They thus became the first Baptist church in the South. It remains to this day an earnest evangelical society, and

[1] Burrage, "Hist. Baptists in New England," p. 53.



is one of our foremost churches. Mr. Screven continued in the pastoral office for sixteen years, when he resigned on account of advancing years. In 1706 he was invited to return to Boston and become the pastor of this church, but did not accept the invitation. He died in 1713. He was a man of fervid evangelical experience, and was abundant in labors.

In the year 1682 an effort was made to establish an Episcopal church in Boston. There was much consultation and an organization seemed probable. The first and immediate result was, that the First Congregational Church made overtures for reconciliation to the Old South Church, which had withdrawn in 1669, without the consent of the other two churches, and had set up an independent organization. This had been the occasion for nearly fourteen years of friction and constrained relations between the three churches. But the presence in the town since 1665 of a Baptist church which the authorities had not been able to obliterate, and the prospect of the immediate establishment of an Episcopal church, with all the prestige of king and court attaching to it, seemed so alarming, and withal so fraught with peril to the churches of the Standing Order, that it was necessary to cultivate the utmost unity against the common danger. Hence the overtures for reconciliation met with immediate response. There had been in the later years some amelioration of the hostile feeling, but this threatened accession to the forces of dissent was the prime factor in accomplishing the reconciliation which now took place.

In June, 1686, the Episcopal church was formally

organized and established in Boston, and Kings Chapel was occupied June 30, 1689. The three Congregational churches had come into harmony none too soon, for they had an unlooked-for adversary. Sir Edmund Andros, the newly appointed royal governor, landed in Boston on Sunday, December 19, 1686. On the same day "he spoke to the ministers in the library about accommodation as to a Meeting house, that might so contrive the time as one house might serve two assemblies."[1] Each church appointed its minister and a committee of four laymen to hold a consultation and frame an answer. They reported to the governor "that they could not with a good conscience consent that their Meeting house should be made use of for the Common Prayer worship."[1] The ministers, especially Increase Mather and Samuel Willard, "thoroughly discoursed his Excellency about the Meeting houses in great plainness, showing that they could not consent."[1] Governor Andros then demanded the keys of the Old South meeting-house, but was pointedly refused. He finally adroitly obtained possession of the keys from the sexton, and entered the house without consent of ministers or churches. Thereafter Episcopal worship was maintained in that meeting-house on Sundays, and on other days at hours when it was not in use by its owners. He went further and declared that marriages would be legal only when solemnized after the Episcopal form. His purpose was to supplant the Congregational establishment with the Church of England.

The ecclesiastical authorities were now thoroughly

[1] Palfrey, "History of New England," Vol. III., p. 521.



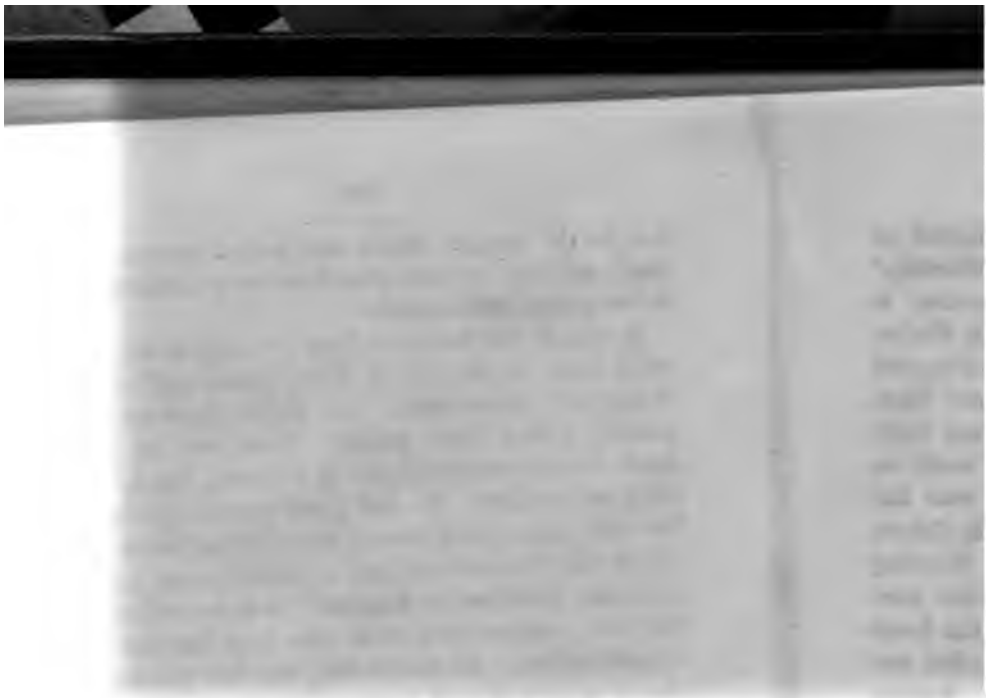
aroused. Increase Mather published a pamphlet on "The Unlawfulness of Common Prayer Worship," in which he affirmed that it was gross apostasy to use or comply with the Book of Common Prayer. Other ministers thundered from their pulpits against the new establishment, and excitement ran high. Governor Andros was doubtless led to adopt high-handed and drastic measures because they would be pleasing to King James and his Council, who had been ill pleased at the severe action of the Bay Colony toward those who did not conform to the Standing Order. Indeed, in 1680 word of warning had been sent to Governor Bradstreet that news of the harsh persecution of Baptists had reached London and aroused strong public feeling on all sides. Remonstrances had been sent across the water from the leading Congregational ministers to their brethren in New England. But what influenced the king far more than any sympathy with his suffering Baptist subjects was the fact that an ecclesiastical test was being set up, which would be a bar to the Episcopal Church equally with others. Thus the Established Church of England would not be tolerated in one of its own colonies, and Englishmen of the ruling classes, sent over by the king to be the royal officials, could not worship after the ritual of their own church.

Religious intolerance, which had manifested such violence in the effort to exterminate Baptists and Quakers, was seen to be equally hostile in principle and in practice to Episcopalians. Political, personal, and ecclesiastical passions became confusedly operative in the struggle which now ensued around Governor Andros. Public attention was so absorbed in it that persecution ceased.

It was in the midst of these exciting scenes that news came of the fall of King James and of the change of government. The hated governor was quickly hurled from power. There can be little doubt that he acted the part of a tyrant, but he had large provocation. He had given the ministers and the civil authorities a taste of the religious intolerance which they themselves had hitherto meted out in unstinted quantities to Baptists. It is not surprising that they did not find their own remedies for dissenters palatable for themselves, and that the deposition of Andros was an occasion for the expression of almost unseemly rejoicing.

Their fears were temporarily allayed, but the late events had furnished matter for very serious reflection. They discovered that religious intolerance was a two-edged sword, which might cut both ways. Henceforth Baptists in Boston were left unmolested, although in other parts of Massachusetts persecution did not cease for more than a century. The constitution of 1834 at last guaranteed freedom of worship in every part of the commonwealth. No church rejoiced more in the final victory than this church, around which the struggle had raged so fiercely at the beginning, and which had maintained itself through all the intervening years so vigorously and uncompromisingly in the metropolis of New England.

Att A Church meeting ye 11th of 10mo 1682, Itt was Agreed upon that all former differences betweene Brother Drinker & the



Church should be forgotten and forgiven and y^t^ Brother Drinker should continue in his office of A deacon.[1]

It is not known when he was elected a deacon, but he had for some years assisted in the conduct of public worship, and upon occasion of the elder's absence on the Lord's Day had expounded the Scriptures.

Att A Church meeting August 20^th^ *1683* the Church upon consideration of Brother Farnums withdrawing himself from ye Comunion of ye Church & for severall dayes together absented himself from ye Church meeting, sent for Brother Farnum & not being able to give A sattisfactory Answer was Admonished to Repent of his Evill & alsoe to Attend his place as his duty bound him.[1]

The admonitions and pleadings of the church were of no avail. Mr. Farnum was an impulsive man and often unduly vehement in his expressions. He was not altogether courteous to the Second, or North Church, of which he had been a member, and was often a trial to his brethren in this church because of his uncontrolled temper and speech. He had, however, borne persecution with courage, and it must have been no small grief to the church to pass the following sentence on October 13, 1683:

Whereas John Farnum who for severall years hath bin A member of this Church of late hath bin A very disorderly p-son and as is knowne to many hath most shamefully turned his Back & gonn from itt, this Church hath duly considered his case & Condicon & how they might p-forme there duty toward him & In discharge thereof have endeavored in faithfullness, and with tenderness to gaine him, butt on ye contrary doe find an Impenitence p-sisting as one y^t^ hath wholy cast of the rule & government of Christ in

[1] "Church Record."

this his church, & contemptuously Refuseth to hearken to ye power & Authority of Christ therein, whereby he greatly Reflects upon ye honor of god, 2^dly^ Stumbles at his pure Religion. 3^dly^ greeves and wounds his brethren, 4^thly^ gives An occation of Stumbling to such as are weak in faith & 5^thly^ gives ye Enemyes of god such an occation of Rejoycing. Wherefore we have further considered our duty and as we are to Act in uprightness for god doe judg our duty binds for ye honor of god to bear our witness in publicque Against him as alsoe for many wicked & unchristian like Expressions and therefore in ye p'esence of ye great & holy god & before this Assembly doe declare that as we are A Church of Christ we will have noe fellowshipp or comunion with him unless he shall manifest true Repentance for his Evills butt shall vote him as one that causeth offences contrary to ye doctrine of our lord Jesus Christ and one whome we are to Avoyd.[1]

This was the most solemn form of excommunication, and it shows the deep conviction and feeling lying behind it.

Mr. Farnum reunited with the North Church, but in 1695 I find him voting at a church meeting of this church, whence I conclude that he was restored upon repentance to his place. In 1709 he was again under discipline, and finally avowed himself to be a Quaker, and "that he did consider them to be ye only people of god now in ye world."[1]

The pastor, Isaac Hull, was now an old man, and unable to do what the church needed for its proper maintenance. In 1681 the church wrote to London for a minister, and said, "Our minister is very aged and feeble, and often incapable of his ministerial work."[2] The London brethren recommended them to select some one of their own members to be their

[1] "Church Record." [2] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 407.

Att A Church meeting July 23d, 1683 Brother Browne was freely Recevd into Comunion with the Church & as A Brother to Administer the word Amongst us with his free & willing Resigning himself to be att ye lords disposeing and ye church in what he shall be capable whilst his continuance Amongst us.[1]

Nothing further is known of Mr. Browne, but it is probable that he did not prove an acceptable preacher, for otherwise the church would have retained him. There was urgent need of an efficient pastor, but it was difficult to find one. Baptist ministers of England were reluctant to come to the new world, and especially in view of the intolerant spirit prevailing in the colony. But at last one did come. "July 20th, 1684, Mr. John Emblen was Recevd a member,"[1] and became the pastor of the church. He remained in this office until 1699. He died in 1702. He was not an efficient minister. Less is known about him than about Mr. Hull. It is certain that he was somewhat careless in his pastoral duties. He was the fourth pastor of the church.

During the last years of this joint pastorate of Elders Hull and Emblen the church steadily declined. Few members were received, and the meetings were poorly attended. Pastoral inattention may have been the secret of it, as the following record tends to show:

Att a Church meeting October 5th (probably 1695) the Church upon consideration of Mr Emblens goeing severall times to Cituate & leaving ye Church destitute of help, being much troubled thereat & for ye pvention of the like practice by Mr Emblen came to this conclusion to putt itt to A vote in ye Church whether he should goe any more unless he have the Churches Approbation, which

[1] "Church Record."

they did & the vote was unanimous, our Brother John Farnum Excepted, that he should not goe any more without the Churches Approbation.[1]

There could not be very great pastoral fidelity where such a vote became necessary.

"The 9th 9th mo 1684 Mr Dingley & his daughter Recevd as members to comunion by lettr of Recomendacon."[1] This was Richard Dingley, who in 1687 removed to Newport, and in 1689 was ordained the pastor of the Baptist church in that town, where he continued to preach until 1694. John Comer, in his usually accurate "Diary," says that, "The ordination was by Mr Thomas Skinner, pastor of the church in Boston, and Mr James Barker a ministering brother belonging to this church." Thomas Skinner was the son-in-law of Thomas Goold, and united with this church in 1670. At a very early date now unknown (1670?) he "was established in the work and office of A Deacon,"[1] and remained a faithful servant of the church until his death, but he was never pastor of the church. He may have served as teaching elder, but of that we have no knowledge.

"Att A Church meeting September ye 13th *1685* Itt was Agreed upon that Brother Drinker upon consideration of his neglecting to officiate in his place for A long time & still p-sisting in soe doeing should be discharged from ye work & office of A Decon and be Admonished to his duty as a member."[1] This admonition availed, for "he was restored to his place as A member upon Acknowledgment of his desertion and promise of Reforming."[1] He did not long walk in

[1] "Church Record."

fellowship with the church, but after two other admonitions, "He was rejected for refusing to heare the Church according to the 18. Chap: Mathew: this was sollemly don 5th January 1695:"[1]

Many stirring and tender memories must have been in the minds of the church when this action was taken. He was the last of the constituent members then living. He had been a teacher and a deacon. He had been often in prison and had suffered much. He remained a faithful Christian through life, although outside the fellowship of this church. There is some slight evidence that he united with another Baptist church (Newberry), and that his irregularity in doing it without a previous dismission was the cause of his excommunication.

24th march 1688[89] To the Church of christ at Newberry: the Church of christ at Boston: wishes yr Increase of grace & peace In Jesus christ the Lord: whereas we have considered ye condition of or Brother Edward Drinker & having weighed the circumstances thereof have thought fitt: to suspend him from communion wth us & Expect you should doe the same: until he has given sattisfaction according to the Rule of Christ wch we thought fitt to signify to you: And so committing you to god & to the word of his grace we Rest: yrs In ye fellowship of ye gospell 25th march 89:

yrs in ye fellowship of ye gospell
ISAACK HULL
JOHN EMBLEN in ye name of ye church.[1]

There is no record of his restoration to the fellowship of this church.

"1688 August 12th Att A Church meeting Bro Sweetser was Elected for a Decon upon probacon."[1]

[1] "Church Record."



He was "ordayned March 91:"[1] This was Benjamin Sweetser, who became a member prior to 1669. He was the son of Seth Sweetser, who settled in Charlestown in 1638, and who had been a Baptist in Hertfordshire, England. The father, a man of property and social standing, died in 1662, before the church was organized, but he had been in close sympathy with those who became the founders.

"Aug 12th *1688* att A Church meeting itt was greed upon that Brother Sweetser Brother Squire Brother Skinner Brother Killcay Brother Hiller & Brother Callender should have care as there wisdome should direct for the support of ye Ministry and setting of Mr Milborne as an Assistant in ye ministry who then promised to be helpfull therein."[1] These brethren seem to have been a committee for the church finances. Nothing further is known of Mr. Milborne. Doubtless his services were unacceptable.

"28 December [1689?] agreed at a Church meeting y^e M^r Emblen should have thre quarters of the contribution."[1] It is easy to guess that his salary was somewhat fluctuating, but always small. From this time until 1694, a period of five years, only five new members were received into the church. Elder Hull was gone and Elder Emblen was left sole pastor. It was a time of disheartenment. The church did not grow or prosper. Interest in spiritual things was at a low ebb. There were some strong and earnest laymen, but the pastoral leadership was inefficient. From August, 1696, to June, 1708, there is no record of any member received nor of any business transacted. It

[1] "Church Record."

was a time of general religious declension throughout New England. The Congregational ministers felt that the glory of the colony had departed. There was widespread lamentation over the laxity of morals and the indifference toward public worship. The desire for wealth, pleasure-seeking, and general worldliness greatly increased.

This church had no settled pastor from 1700 to 1708. They had occasional preaching by other persons than Baptists. In 1709 one of the members alleges as a reason for non-attendance at the church that they "had sett a presbeterian Minister to preach amongst us,"[1] and that when he had attended "in ye time of prayer he turned his back & kept on his hatt,"[1] as a protest against this unbaptistic intruder. In 1706 the church again sought a pastor in England, but without success.[2] They then sent urgent invitations to Elder William Screven, of South Carolina. He listened favorably to their request and was on the eve of acceptance, when the pastor of the church which he had founded in Charleston suddenly died. Mr. Screven felt that he could not leave the bereaved church in such a crisis, and accordingly wrote to Boston, June 2, 1707, "his great disappointment" that he could not come. He recommended them "to improve the gifts which they have in the Church. Brother Callender and Joseph Russell, I know, have gifts that may tend to edification if improved."[3] This suggestion was adopted, and Mr. Ellis Callender, who had been a lay preacher among them for about thirty years, and who had taken charge of public worship in

[1] "Church Record." [2] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 466. [3] *Ibid.*, 467.



the absence of the pastor, was chosen in 1708 to be their pastor. I can find no record of his ordination. Under his faithful care the church began to revive and grow. He had become a member in 1669. His name is eighteenth in our list, and he was the fifth pastor. He was a discreet, devout, devoted man. He was held in the highest esteem by all who knew him. The first token of friendly recognition which Baptists had yet received from Congregationalists came to him in 1714, in the form of the following letter:

16th. 1m. 1714.

Sirs: As in the distresses of the winter, we did, with the solemnities of humiliation, call upon our gracious God, so, since he has graciously recovered so many of our people, and sent in such seasonable provisions for our necessities, it has been proposed among the ministers of the town, that our good people may acknowledge these favors of our prayer hearing Lord, with the solemnity of a thanksgiving in our several congregations: for which, also, we have had the encouragement of the government. The time we would propose for such a service is Thursday the first of April, if the churches have no objection against it. And it was desired that you might be seasonably apprised of this purpose, because we are well assured of the welcome, which a motion of such a nature will find with you, and the people of God unto whom you stand nearly related. Having thus discharged the duty in this manner incumbent on me, I take leave to subscribe,

Sir, Your brother and Servant

COTTON MATHER.

To my worthy friend, Mr. Ellis Callender, Elder of a Church of Christ in Boston.[1]

The fact was that Mr. Elisha Callender, son of Mr. Ellis Callender, had graduated in 1710 from Harvard College. Dr. Increase Mather had been president of

[1] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 420.

the college for sixteen years, resigning in 1701, and still retained a close relation to it. In this way he had become acquainted with young Callender and his father. Both the Mathers had written fiercely against the Baptists, and had denied them any recognition as an orderly and regular church of Christ. They had incited the civil authorities to persecution. But personal acquaintance with these two Baptists had wrought a great change, and they found that Baptists were godly, peaceable, law-abiding citizens, who had been grossly calumniated; that they were not in opposition to education, nor to an educated ministry; that they were not the incendiaries of commonwealths, but that they were conscientious and Christian souls, of as good English stock as themselves. The result of these discoveries, which they might have made years earlier, was this first public recognition of the Baptist church as a true church of Christ.

It was now almost fifty years since the church was organized, and during all that time Dr. Increase Mather had been pastor of the Second Church, which was the immediate neighbor of this church. It may be said, therefore, that his recognition of it was somewhat tardy.

CHAPTER X

Ordination of Elisha Callender. Prosperity. Work at Springfield and Vicinity. Manner of Singing. Death of Mr. Callender.

X

"AUGUST 10. *1713*. Shem Drowne & Elisha Callender were baptized & Receed to Comunion with ye Church."[1] These were two notable names, and destined to have an important influence over the destinies of this church. "On Wednesday the 21st of May 1718 Elisha Callender was ordained a pastor of this Church of Christ by the Reverend Docter Mathers & Mr Webb of the new north Church."[1] This marked a very notable advance in the position of the church in the town. Never before had the churches of the Standing Order recognized formally this church as a legitimate, regular, or authorized church of Christ, although the Mathers had given their personal recognition four years before. During all its history it had maintained itself vigorously and consistently, but it had stood alone and without Christian recognition.

The spirit of intolerance had greatly lessened, for otherwise the church would never have ventured to send the following letter:

A Coppy of a Letter sent to Dr Mather & Mr Webb to be communicated to their Churches in the beginning of May 1718:

Honored & Beloved in the Lord

Considering that there ought to be a holy fellowship maintained among godly Christians and that it is a Duty for us to Receive one another as Christ also Receives us to the glory of god not-

[1] "Church Record."

withstanding some Differing persuasions in matters of Doubtfull Disputations, and although we have not so great Latitude as to the Subject of Baptism as the Churches in New England generally have, notwithstanding as to fundamentall principles in your Doctrine of Christ both as to the faith & order of the Gospell, we Concur with them being also satisfied that particular Churches have power from Christ to Choose their own Pastors & that Elders ought to be ordained in. Every Church & haveing Chosen our well beloved Brother Elisha Callender to be our pastor we Intreat you to send your Elders & Messengers to give us the Right hand of fellowship in his ordination.

In ye name of ye Church.[1]

To this friendly overture these churches responded and sent their pastors and messengers to assist in the ordination. Ex-President Increase Mather, his son, Dr. Cotton Mather, and Mr. Webb conducted the service. Dr. Increase Mather says:

It was a grateful surprise to me when several of the brethren of the Anti-pedobaptist persuasion came to me, desiring that I would give them the Right Hand of Fellowship in ordaining one whom they had chosen to be their pastor. I did (as I believe it was my duty) readily consent to what they proposed: considering the young man to be ordained is serious and pious, and of a candid spirit, and has been educated in the College at Cambridge: and that all of the brethren of that church with whom I have an acquaintance (I hope the like concerning others of them) are, in the judgment of rational charity, godly persons.[2]

Dr. Cotton Mather of the Second Church preached the ordination sermon, on "Good Men United," in the course of which he says:

New England also has, in some former times, done something of this aspect, which would not now be so well approved of; in

[1] "Church Record." [2] Sprague's "Annals Baptist Pulpit," p. 35.

which, if the brethren in whose house we are now convened, met with anything too unbrotherly, they now with satisfaction hear us expressing our dislike of every thing that has looked like persecution in the days that have passed over us.

This was a public acknowledgment of the wrong-doing in the early persecutions, which must have been very grateful to the few members, like Ellis Callender and Benjamin Sweetzer, who had survived those times. It was a frank and honorable recognition of them as a Christian church. It had been long delayed, but was none the less welcome.

This memorable result was largely due to the high esteem in which the Callenders, father and son, were held in the community. The son was the first native American Baptist minister who had received a college education. He was a man of liberal, cultivated, and wise spirit. He had won the affectionate regard of ex-President Mather, and as a scholarly alumnus of Harvard could scarcely be treated lightly by the ministers of the colony. Doubtless it was this friendly attitude of the venerable ex-President Mather which opened the way for the recognition of this church and the ordination of its minister. It was a far cry from President Dunster, who having become a Baptist in belief, was driven from his high office, to President Mather, who now gave it its first official recognition as "a Church of Christ in Boston." The former was the virtual founder of this church. The latter, whose public life as pastor and president had covered all the years of its history, gave a practical completion to what the former had begun. The ordination scene must have been one of strangely



conflicting memories to the older persons present. President Dunster, after many years, was in good degree vindicated.

This fraternal event had many and far-reaching results. The church came soon to have a new social standing in the town, and its pastor was received on every side with great honor. It had now a recognized place among the other churches. Nor were Baptists the only ones who benefited by this exhibition of Christian brotherhood. Harvard College soon after was the recipient of large benefactions from a Baptist. A new era of prosperity in the church followed. New members, many of whom were persons of influence, began to unite with the church, and its work widened rapidly.

"Decembr 14th *1718* The Church Chose Richard Proctor to the office of a Deacon by a major vote."[1]

"January 30th 17$\frac{1}{8}$ Messrs Hillar & Proctor were ordained Deacons of this Church."[1] Richard Proctor became a member January 14, 1709, and Benjamin Hillar June 1, 1708. A further evidence of the rapid extension of the work of the church is the election of other deacons.

"April 29d *1720* Josias Byles was chosen Deacon by a major vote upon probation."[1] He was received into the church November 1, 1719. He served faithfully in the office of deacon for thirty-three years. "May 5, 1721. At ye same Church meeting Brother Shem Drowne was chosen to ye office of a Deacon by a major vote."[1] He and his pastor were baptized on the same day, August 10, 1713. Deacon Drowne

[1] "Church Record."

was a notable man in Boston. He had general supervision of the fortifications and made the necessary repairs upon them. He was a man of affairs in many directions. It was he who made the famous gilded wooden Indian which so long stood upon the top of the "Province House," and also the weather vane which has so long surmounted the dome of historic Faneuil Hall. This vane, which is of large size when seen at close range, is a reproduction of a grasshopper, and has become somewhat tarnished and shabby-looking. It is probable that the work of regilding will be done soon. The last time that it was taken down and regilded was many years ago, and at that time there was found on the inside of the vane a paper bearing this legend:

Shem Drowne Made itt, May 25, 1742. To my Brethern and Fellow Grasshoppers. I Fell in ye year 1753, Nov. 18th, early in ye morning by a great earthquake . . . by my old Master above. Again Like to have met with my Utter Ruin by Fire but hopping Timely from my Public Situation came of with Broken bones & much Bruised . . . cured and fixed by my Old Master's son, Thomas Drowne, June 28, 1768, and Though I will promise to hang . . . Discharge my office and I shall vary as ye winds may blow.

He was also the cunning artificer of the famous bronze cock which gave the name of the "Cockerel Church" to the New Brick Church, and which stood at the summit of its spire as its weather vane for one hundred and forty-eight years. This cock could be seen far out at sea and was a notable landmark in old Boston. It now stands at the summit of the spire of the Shepard Memorial Church in Cambridge. Dea-

con Drowne's shop was in Anne Street. He died in 1774 at the age of ninety-one. For more than sixty years he was a faithful, active, and influential member of this church. He served it as deacon for fifty-three years, which is a longer period of service than any other deacon has given to the church.

"April 2d. 1721. It was voted by the Church that days of fasting & thanksgiving their should be a collection for the poor of ye Church."[1] This was the beginning of stated offerings for the poor.

"May 5th 1721 Voted at a Church Meeting that if providence at any time prevents our Elder or Pastor from coming forth on the Sacrament day that then his father proceed to administer the ordinance as formerly."[1] Pastor Callender had a feeble constitution, and his manifold labors often prostrated him. It was fortunate that his father, now a venerable man, was closely associated with him.

The extraordinary exhibition of fraternal relations at the recent ordination greatly pleased the English Baptists, and a correspondence sprang up between Mr. Callender and Thomas and John Hollis, merchants, of London. The latter were wealthy and devout Baptists, whose liberal benefactions were widely known in their own city. They now proposed to show their appreciation of the treatment of their brethren in Boston by a liberal donation to Harvard College. Accordingly, Thomas Hollis founded the Hollis Chair of Divinity, with a salary of eighty pounds per annum attached. He also gave "an exhibition of ten pounds apiece per annum to

[1] "Church Record."

ten scholars of good character, four of whom should be Baptists, if any such were there," ten pounds to the college treasurer for his trouble, and ten pounds to supply losses or to increase the number of students.[1] This was the largest benefaction which the college had yet received from one individual, and remained its largest gift until recent years. In 1726 Mr. Hollis founded a Chair of Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy, with a salary of eighty pounds attached. He also sent apparatus at an expense of one hundred and fifty pounds, and added many books to the library. He expressed the desire that his friend, Rev. Elisha Callender, should be appointed one of the overseers of the college. By the charter of that time the ministers of Boston were constituted the overseers, and they would not consent to his admission among them, and the request of Mr. Hollis was refused. Mr. Hollis supposed that he had sufficiently guarded his theological foundation so that orthodox instruction upon it was forever guaranteed. Later events have not justified his hope or expectation. The total amount of the benefactions of the Hollis family "exceeded six thousand pounds currency of Massachusetts, which, considering the value of money at that time, and the disinterested spirit by which their charities were prompted, constitutes one of the most remarkable instances of continued benevolence on record."[2]

The church also had correspondence with Mr. Hollis on its own account, as the following letters show:

[1] Neal's "Hist. of N. E.," pp. 220–1.
[2] Quincy, "Hist. of Harvard College."

The Coppy of A Letter sent unto Mr Thomas & John Hollis of London dated March the second 172½. Boston. Hon'ed Srs.

According to yr Expectacon, we should have sent you some accompt of our proceeding Relateing to our meeting house, but ye generall Calamity In which we have had A Share (viz) the small pox has p'vented us till now: We chose our three brethren who have signed the Accompt, and after some generall directions, left them to Manadg, In the most prudent maner, and we are fully Sattisfyed, that they Acted with prudence and good contrivance, and this there Accompt which we send you, is to our sattisfaction. We desired to be sensible of our obligations, and as before, soe now againe we send you our hearty thanks. Our howse is now much Warmer, and far more comfortable, to carry on the Worshipp of god, than itt was before. May the great god Accept ye good designes, and owne us In Seeking the Advancement of his kingdome. This is and shall be our desire & prayer to him, who is ye god of all grace, to whome we commend each of you, wishing you An Abundant Entrance Into the Kingdome of our glorious Redeemer.

Yr oblidged Brethren & fellow servants In the Service of Jesus Christ.

Signed att A Church Meeting March 2d 172½

ELISHA CALLENDr
ELLIS CALLENDER
LEONARD DROWN
BENJa LANDON[1]

In 1721 the small-pox raged virulently in Boston, and out of a population of about twenty thousand between eight and nine hundred died. Soon after "the practise of innoculation was set up . . . and Dr. Zabdiel Boylston was the chief actor in it."

A Coppy of a Letter Sent to Mr Jno & Thomas Hollis of London for thirty pounds N: England money sent us to Plaister & whitewash our meeting house.

[1] "Church Record."

Honed & Belovd in our Lord Jesus Christ

We are glad that our accounts of your money in the Repair of our meeting house have been approved by you and now send again our hearty thanks for your Repeated bounty & liberality: Mr Tyler was ready to Comply with your note & the money we have Improved in plaistering our house & whiting it; As we are persuaded you aim chiefly at ye glory of god so we shall make it our prayer that god would accept you in this and all your endeavour to advance & promote the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. We wish each of you Grace & peace & Love from ye god of all Grace & from our Lord Jesus Christ, and then according to ye Apostle you have Sowed so bountifully may Reap also bountifully.

We commend Each of you to the word of god and the good Spirit of god to be an Earnest of your Inheriting the Kingdom of heaven, and may that good Spirit guide & lead you till you shall be brought to glory & O that we may all at last appear compleat in the Lord Jesus Christ at his Second Coming.

We Subscribe yr Obliged friends and Brethren

ELLIS CALLENDER
ELISHA CALLENDER
SHEM DROWNE
JOSIAS BYLES
JAMES PITSON,
&c:[1]

The first gift of the Hollises was one hundred and five pounds two shillings, and the Committee on Repairs was Deacons Byles and Drowne and Mr. David Landon. The second gift "for the plaistering and whiting of the Meeting house"[1] was thirty pounds.

Their gifts did not stop with these, for the following letter appears in our Records (about 1724):

A Coppy of a letter sent to Mr John & Thomas Hollis in London, Merchants, for sixty pounds New England money sent to make Conveniences for the administration of Baptism.

[1] "Church Record."



Honored & beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ :

Your Repeated Bounty & Charity Calls for our Repeated thanks & we take this opportunity to send them. We can make you no other Return than that of our humble prayers to god that he would Reward you & we hope we shall never fail of this. We joyne with you in your wishes that we may have many ocasions to use the garments you have sent us. When the Season of ye year will allow us, we shall build two Small apartments for ye convenient administration of Baptism. The Cold weather being so far advanced that it cannot be done this winter. We shall use all Prudence & send you word when finished & hope what you have sent is Enough. We wish each of you grace & peace from our Lord Jesus Christ while you are Labouring to promote his Kingdom & his Ordinances & we wish Each of you at last the Reward of wise & faithfull Stewards & that you may Receive the Sentence of well Done, good & faithfull Servants : So pray your obliged friends & Brethren in Gospell Bonds.

Signed in behalf of ye whole

ELISHA CALLENDER
ELLIS CALLENDER
JOSIAS BYLES.[1]

It has been suggested that the first meeting-house was built near the water for convenience in baptizing. There is no evidence whatever of any such motive. The house was built on private grounds belonging to Philip Squire, a member of the church, and was paid for by him jointly with Ellis Callender. A country lane led up to it, through his garden, from the highway which ran from Boston to Charlestown, by the side of the mill pond. It was a wooden structure, fashioned more after the style of a dwelling-house than of a church, so that it might excite as little as possible of animosity on the part of the ministers and govern-

[1] "Church Record."

ment. The conveniences for baptism were duly made at the rear of the lot, beside the wharf, and immediately behind the meeting-house. This wharf was built out into the ancient mill pond, which was a salt water basin opening out from the harbor. The tides kept the waters of the mill pond sweet and clean. It has been filled in, and long since built over with blocks of houses. The first meeting-house, built in 1679–80, was used until 1737, when the increasing prosperity of the church compelled its enlargement.

Att a Church Meeting Jan^{r} 13 172$\frac{3}{4}$, voted that Such of the members of ye Church as are disposed and appear within three months time to build Pews in the meeting house for their Convenience may have leave to do so under the Limitations and Restrictions which follow :

1 That any of ye members of ye Church at any time have free leave to goe into ye pews & and it shall not be taken amiss by them that have built them.

2 That every person who has a pew shall hold it by ye vote of the Church, and whenever any one pew or more become vacant, or when any sees Cause to leave his pew, the Church paying him what he gave for the seting it up, the pew shall fall into the hands of ye Church & be wholly at their Disposal.

Each pewholder must build his own pew and furnish it according to his notion. The custom of letting every pewowner build his pew after his own notion resulted often in great diversity of form and furnishing. The pews were box shaped, but very irregular in form. Some were sumptuously furnished, and some were little more than bare wooden benches.

The church was now greatly prospered. Many new members were received. Many persons of education and standing were attracted to the preach-

ing of the cultivated pastor. He was highly esteemed by all classes for his learning, his discretion, and his fervid evangelical zeal. John Comer was baptized January 31, 1727. He was educated at Cambridge and New Haven, but became converted to Baptist views. He soon began to preach and finally became pastor of the Newport (R. I.) Church. He kept a "Diary" of events, both secular and ecclesiastical. He planned a careful history of the Baptists in America, and traveled extensively, collecting facts in furtherance of the plan, but he died at an early age before his work was consummated. John Callender, a nephew of the pastor, was baptized June 4, 1727. He graduated from Harvard College in 1723. He was educated on the Hollis foundation. He became the distinguished pastor of the Newport Church, and had a career of great usefulness until his early death in 1748. His "Century Historical Discourse" in 1738 is the only reliable basis for the early history of the colony of Rhode Island, and has a priceless value. Jeremiah Condy, Jr., was baptized March 29, 1730. He graduated from Harvard College in 1726, and afterward became pastor of this church. Rev. Elisha Callender seems to have been peculiarly attractive to young college-bred men, and was the means of introducing into the Baptist ministry numbers of such men at a time when educated men were comparatively rare among us.

May 8. 1727. At a Church meeting: William Snell By his last will & testament having given to ye Church the Remaining part of his Estate when his funeral charges & Debts were paid & his Legacys made good. It was laid before the Church by

Ellis Callender administrator to ye said Snell Estate and there Remained to ye Church forty one Pounds & Some odd Shillings & twelve ounces of Plate & twelve pennyweight which was then Delivered up by him to ye Church. Voted that the twelve ounces of plate should be made into a handsome Cup with his name upon it and as left by him to ye Church in his last will and Testament, But one Spoon be Reserved with his name upon it for ye use of ye Lord's Table.[1]

This cup is still in the possession of the church, although it is not now used. The spoon, which is marked "W^m Snell 1727," has been put month by month upon the communion table since that date, and has been used by all the pastors of the church, excepting four. His memory has thus remained living in the church which he loved and into which he was baptized in 1695.

In 1727 a spontaneous movement in favor of Baptist doctrines sprang up in and around Springfield, Mass. Some members of this church had gone there to live, and became the rallying center of this new activity. An earnest desire was expressed that a Baptist minister should visit them, and a formal letter, signed by about thirty persons, was sent to Boston asking that the church would send Mr. Callender to give them further instruction. They say:

Although we are no church, nor members of any church, yet we have formerly looked upon ourselves, at least some of us, to have been members of such church or churches whose faith and practice is to baptize, or rather sprinkle, infants; but through God's goodness, by searching the Scriptures, and such other helps as we have received from some of your church, have been made sensible that our former practice with relation to baptism

[1] "Church Record."

has been grounded too much upon the traditions of men . . . and understanding that the Church at Boston practises and allows of no other but believers baptism, we the subscribers do therefore spread our case before the church," & etc.

They declare that they had "never heard a sermon preached by a Baptist."[1] This letter of appeal met with a prompt response:

At a Church Meeting July 6. 1727.

The Church having Received a Letter from a Number of serious People at Springfield who Desired to have some Instruction in ye Doctrine of Baptism and at ye Same time Desiring their advice: The Church took their Letter into Consideration & voted upon it that their Elder Elisha Callender should make a visit to y^m and at ye Same time voted that Deacon Drowne should accompany him and Brother Sam^ll Sweetzer & Brother Bound should accompany him also and that such of the Brethren as live in those parts who may Conveniently meet them doe meet them there and appear in the name of ye Church. Brother Stillman & Brother Molton were particularly mentioned & voted by the Church to appear in their behalf. Voted at ye same time that the charges of the journey be defrayed out of the Money which ye Church has lying by them.[2]

1727. In the Month of July the Church having Received a Letter from a Number of People at Springfield in w^e they Desire advice & Direction and a visit from ye Church. It was voted that ye Elder accompanied with three Messengers from ye Church should goe to y^m and having been with them some time & preached unto y^m & discussed with them, Eleven Persons Desired to be baptized & accordingly were Baptized on ye 23 July. viz.:

John Leonard of Springfield
Ebenezer Leonard of Springfield
William Scott of Springfield
Abell Leonard of Springfield
Jonathan Worthington & his wife of Springfield

[2] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 513. [1] "Church Record."

Victory Sykes Living at Suffield
Thomas Lamb of Springfield
John Bullin Living at Brimfield
Richard Gardner of Springfield
Mercy Lawton Living at Suffield.[1]

This visit to Springfield greatly stirred the opposition of the ministers of the Standing Order, and they sent a letter of protest to Mr. Callender, in which they blame him for not first coming to them, and obtaining their consent to the visiting of people within their parish boundaries.

"We cannot think," they say, "that preaching to or treating with particular persons in a private manner, to instil into them doctrines that we think are not according to truth and godliness, to be so Christian-like: and we assure you is not what we expected from Mr Callender, whatever we might have feared from some others."[2]

This letter did not deter Mr. Callender from visiting Springfield in the following year, to encourage and counsel these members of his own flock, for they were now members of this church.

1728 Sept^r By ye advice & Consent of ye Church, the Elder, accompanyied with Severall of the Brethren went again to Springfield and upon his journey thither Baptized Hannah Marsh, the wife of Brother Marsh at Sutton and at Springfield on 15 Sepr Baptized

Thomas Durgee of Canada In Connecticut
Daniel Bloget of Stafford
Hannah Kibbee of Infield
Sarah Leonard of Springfield
Mary Ball of Springfield
Submit Monger of Brimfield.[3]

[1] "Church Record." [2] Backus, Vol. I., p. 514.
[3] "Church Record."



It is evident that Baptist doctrines were spreading into the surrounding region, and were receiving by many a very cordial acceptance. This second visit, together with the evident increase in Baptist membership and influence, aroused the ministers of Springfield even more than the first visit. They sent the following letter:

Reverend Sir: Our laboring to wait upon you together on last year, not being well received by some, we shall not now take pains after any such thing; but take this method to ask you whether you came prepared for and expecting of a public dispute concerning the subjects and modes of baptism. We ask your answer by the bearer.

From, Sir, your humble servants,

DANIEL BREWER
STEPHEN WILLIAMS
SAML HOPKINS.[1]

Springfield September 16, 1728

To this letter Mr. Callender made reply:

SPRINGFIELD, September 17, 1728.

Reverend Sir: It is not my custom and manner to go about the country to dispute and debate and wrangle with those that differ from me in opinion. It is well known that I am for peace with all men, and for Christians to live in love and charity, and for every man to act as he is fully persuaded in his own mind. But if you will not be quiet and easy, and will insist upon it that your people must hear what is to be said in opposition to what I think contrary to truth and godliness, you may inform, Sir, your humble servant,

ELISHA CALLENDER.[2]

To the Reverend Mr Daniel Brewer.

I do not know what was the outcome of this correspondence, but the ministers might well hesitate in

[1] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. I., p. 516. [2] *Ibid.*, 514.

regard to a public discussion, for that meant a wider dissemination of the Baptist teachings. It is known that Baptists continued to increase in numbers in all that region. In August, 1731, Mr. Callender went again to Springfield and baptized nine persons, and at Sutton five persons. In June, 1733, at their request he went again, and baptized ten persons. All these became members of this church, and constituted an outstation. It was not until 1740 that they were gathered and set apart as an independent church. On March 20, 1737, Edward Upham was baptized in Boston and began soon after to preach. He was a graduate of Harvard College in 1734. He was ordained, October 15, 1740, to be the pastor of the newly organized church at Springfield. In 1749 he became the pastor of the church in Newport, but in 1771 returned to Springfield, where he died in 1795. He was heavily taxed for the support of the orthodox churches, and was harassed in other ways, so that the church did not grow to the extent of which it gave an early promise. Elder Callender was abundant in labors at this time, as is evidenced by his visits to many neighboring towns, and baptizing many persons who could not easily come to Boston. The church had representative members in many parts of the commonwealth. Salem, Lynn, Dedham, Billerica, Woburn, Malden, Medfield, Marshfield, Scituate, Hull, Newton, Springfield, Sutton, Leicester, and many other towns were thus represented. The pastor was the center of many activities. His spirit was genial and catholic. He was a cultivated, Christian gentleman, and was universally admired and beloved. He

was firm and consistent in his views of truth, and a thorough Baptist. He was wholly tolerant, and not fond of controversy. The church was very prosperous under his faithful care.

"At a Church Meeting Sep^{r} 8. 1728. Voted that our Brother Skinner Russell be desired from that time forward to Set the Psalm in Publick."[1] The singing in public worship of that time was wonderful in its variety and lack of harmony. There were no instruments of music. The Psalms, distorted into something which was strangely supposed to be meter, were sung. The irregularity of the metre made it impossible to fit any regular tune to a psalm. Sometimes, when the psalm was long, the singing would occupy a half-hour, during which the congregation stood, and each one sang a tune which seemed to have little connection with the tune of any other singer. The result was a singular babel of sounds in which harmony was not the most noticeable feature. The one hundred and thirty-third Psalm furnishes illustration of the irregularity of the metre:

How good and sweet to see
i' ts for bretheren to dwell
together in unitee;

Its like oyle that fell
the head upon
that down did flow
the beard unto
beard of Aron
The skirts of his garment
that unto them went down;

[1] "Church Record."

Like Hermons dews descent
Sions mountains upon
for there to bee
the Lords blessing
life aye lasting
commandeth hee.

The singers had no notes before them and each one sang pretty much at his own pleasure. It cannot be denied that they enjoyed their own singing and entered into it with peculiar zest. Perhaps the very defiance of all the rules of music gave them a sense of unconstraint, which was the chief element of their delight. "Lining out the psalm" was an effort to get the congregation into something of musical orderliness, but it met with great opposition from those "who loved the old way." The new way seemed an encroachment upon liberty, and the conflict waxed hot in the colony, but the "liners" finally won the day.

The new method was no great improvement over the old. No method could make psalms metred after the fashion of "The Bay Psalm Book," to be sung well. Lining was an advantage where the books were few. Mr. Skinner Russell was to set the tune, but there is no evidence that this church adopted "lining" at this date, although it did afterward. Public worship was very simple. Reading the Scriptures to the congregation was not then in vogue.

In 1699 a new church in Boston (the Brattle Street) was organized, because of dissent from the custom of not reading the Scriptures in public worship and the

requiring a relation of experience as a prerequisite to admission to the Lord's table. Rev. Benjamin Colman, its pastor, began at once to read the Scriptures, but in the Second Church they were not read until 1729.[1] One psalm was sung without instrumental accompaniment, a prayer and the sermon followed. The service would not be overlong even if the sermon were longer than at present. In 1726, Rev. John Comer first introduced singing into the service of the Newport Church.

"July 7. 1740. The Church voted to sing that Version of the Psalms done by Dr. Brady & Mr Tate, so long as no objections should be offered against it."[2] It is surprising that such a loophole for the objector to enter should have been left open, for the Puritan was a somewhat chronic objector to any innovation. It may be that the broad invitation in this vote, for any one to object who desired, was really the safeguard of unanimity in the use of the "Tate & Brady Version." For once the objector seems to have kept silent.

[1] 1729 Sepr 7: The Church Received a small Silver Cup the Legacy of Mr John Foreland & his first wife who was a member of the Baptist Church in Boston: marked $\frac{I}{E}$ F.[3]

Mrs. Foreland became a member in 1686, but her husband never united with the church. This cup is now in the possession of the church, but is no longer used at communion.

[1] Robbins, "Hist. Second Church," p. 180.
[2] Comer, "Diary." [3] "Church Record."

1731 Octr 8 The Church Received a Letter from a Church at Newport on Rhoad Island Desiring assistance in the Ordination of Mr John Callender whom they had chosen to be their minister. Accordingly the Church Sent their Elder & Deacons to assist & that affair was carried on Octor 13. 1731.[1]

John Callender possessed fine intellectual qualities, which, added to a refined social nature and a devout spirit, made him greatly admired and beloved. He seems to have much resembled his uncle in character.

May 9. 1732 Deacon Drowne & Brother Landon & Brother Ephraim Craft were appointed a Committee to make more convenient plaee for administering Baptism and so to order it that we may always have the command of water.[1]

They doubtless experienced difficulty at low tide, and so arranged for a place which the tides would not so easily disturb. They continued, however, to baptize in the mill pond at the rear of the church lot. Baptism in the open air was not abandoned until 1830.

Being sent for to Marshfield I there Baptized on the 20 Octr 1734. Nathan Sprague Timothy Rogers Jeremiah Crooker John White Junr Elizabeth Low Mary White.[1]

1736 August 1. Samuel Williamson Joanna Williamson Margaret Howland were Baptized & added & at ye same time Jeremiah Crooker who had been Baptized at Marshfield were added to ye Church.[1]

In the preceding May these and other persons had written a very earnest letter to Elder Callender entreating him to visit Marshfield again to preach and to baptize,[2] but the state of his health, which was already

[1] "Church Record."
[2] Ford, "Centennial Hist. First Baptist Ch., Marshfield," pp. 6, 7.



beginning to decline, would not allow of such a visit. Hence those who desired baptism were compelled to visit Boston for that purpose.

It was in these ways that this church reached out to all the region around, and gathering little groups of disciples here and there, held them for the time being in its own membership, while the way was being prepared for establishing them in independent churches.

A Coppy of a Letter Sent to our Bretheren at Sutton, Decem^{r} 1731. Beloved Bretheren. Your Letter we have Received & considered the contents &ec. Considering the Relation between us & the tender Regard we have for you, we would be far from discouraging you in so good & great a work as you have proposed & shall be glad to hear that true & undefiled Religion flourishes in your parts. But yet we think it our duty to caution you to doe nothing Rashly & to consider well what is before you. It is a great work & we would advise you to sit down & count the cost & to consider you are in the midst of many Enemies who will watch for your halting & will Improve Everything in the worst Sense. But more particularly as to ye first thing you mention that it is your unanimous Desire to be Embodied in a Church We should have been glad you had tarried till you had been more in number. But if you have Covenanted together we wish you Increase & the Presence of Christ to be with you and as to the Second particular, That you may have an Elder ordained among you, we heartily wish you had a Suitable person Settled among you one that might goe in & out before you. But we fear you are not Ripe Enough nor yet in a capacity to doe your duty on all accounts to Such an one & Thirdly that you have chosen Brother Marsh to the office of an Elder. To this we must needs say we think you have been too Rash. Not that we have aught against our Brother Marsh for he has a very good Report of them that are without & we Esteem him in love, but if you had chosen any other Person from among you we should have thought the same. The Scripture sais lay hands Suddenly upon no man, & it is the Custom &

Practise of the Churches of our Denomination to have some proof & triall of Gifts & qualifications of those who are called to office & it is but Reasonable & we think it would have been very proper we should have some knowledge of the accomplishments of such a person before you called him, and to be sure before we proceed to advise & to assist in his settlement. We believe it is a day of Temptation with you, & we are afraid you have been too hasty in the whole affair, however at this distance we are not so Capable of forming a true Judgment as if we were better acquainted with your circumstances. We beg that you would not be troubled nor discouraged that we have spoken so freely to you & that you would consider the difficulties of the Season together with what we have mentioned to you & wait awhile & see how Providence will work for you. We are informed that our General Assembly are about Passing an Act this session in favour of the Baptists which will prevent the officers from Spoiling and abusing you as they have done some others & we hope it will be no Reall damage if you defer what you have Proposed a little longer:

Signed by order & in behalf of ye Church.[1]

I have quoted the whole of this letter because it exhibits the wise, kind, and courteous spirit of Elder Callender, who composed it, and also because of its historic interest. This plain but fraternal advice accomplished its purpose, and the brethren decided to make haste slowly in forming a new organization. There was at this time, living at Sutton, quite a large group of members of this church, and preaching was maintained.

At a Church Meeting Aug 3 1735. The Church Considering the Letter & Desire from the Bretheren at Sutton & Leister to be Dismissed that they may gather into a particular Church & finding their Reasons to be Weighty Did Unanimously grant them a Dismission.[1]

[1] "Church Record."



The members who had been baptized by Mr. Callender in his visits there were Benjamin Marsh and Hannah his wife, John Bound and wife, William Vening, Jonathan Marsh, Joseph Wakefield and wife Mary, Sarah Davis, Joseph White, Thomas Green, Abigail Green, Judith Gitchell, Jonathan Newell, Elizabeth Richardson. Elder John Comer also baptized several persons who became members of the new church.[1]

Acts for the exemption of Baptists from taxation for the support of the ministers of the Standing Order, and for the erection of their meeting-houses, were passed with great reluctance by the Massachusetts Assembly, and they were so worded as to prove inoperative. No redress could be obtained under them. The hope which Mr. Callender expresses in his letter proved fallacious. The tyranny of Governor Andros greatly shook the Puritan power and ascendency. He had established worship according to the Book of Common Prayer in the Old South meeting-house. He threatened that "public worship in the Congregational way should not be tolerated," if the factious opposition to him did not cease. His downfall gave them temporary relief. The new royal charter of 1691, bestowed on the Massachusetts Colony, was liberal enough in its provisions to protect both Episcopalians and Baptists, but in defiance of it the Assembly in 1692 passed an Act:

> That every minister being a person of good conversation, able, learned and orthodox, that shall be chosen by the major part of the inhabitants of any town . . . shall be the minister of such

[1] Backus, "Hist.," Vol. II., p. 29.

> town; and the whole town shall be obliged to pay towards his settlement and maintenance, each man his several proportion thereof.[1]

Boston would not submit to this law, and in 1693 was exempted by legislative enactment. The rest of the Commonwealth came under the tyranny of this law. There was distress everywhere on account of the exactions of the officers, and the annoyances and sufferings which ensued constitute a dark chapter in the history of that time. The narration of it does not pertain to the history of this church, which happily suffered only through its sympathies with its sister churches.

In 1728 there was passed an act exempting Baptists and Quakers from the odious tax, during a period of five years, in so far as their polls but not their estates were concerned. But even then the officers contrived ways of harassing dissenters. In this and subsequent acts no penalty was attached for official disobedience of the law, and the officers in many towns still persisted in collecting the taxes, and in the sale of property seized for taxes, where Baptists refused to pay. Again the Boston jail began to receive Baptists from the country, who were arrested for failure to pay a tax from which the law exempted them. The administration of justice was wholly in the hands of those who were hostile to dissent. This church could not remain an unmoved spectator of the sufferings of its brethren, and its pastors were among the most outspoken in protest, and in efforts to gain redress. They visited and comforted their brethren in

[1] Ford, "New England Struggles," p. 149.



Boston jail. They petitioned the General Court. They constantly appealed to the consciences, the sense of justice, and the love of liberty of their fellow-citizens.

The church had grown so steadily under the useful ministry of Mr. Callender that in the summer of 1737 it was found necessary to enlarge the meeting-house. This was done. New pews were added, and the seating capacity was largely increased. The prospects of the church were very bright. Religion throughout the colony was indeed at a low ebb, and a spirit of worldliness had possessed the churches, but in this church there were continued additions of those who manifested a vital godliness. In the midst of these encouraging prospects a great grief suddenly fell upon the church.

Jan 29 173⅞. Our worthy and Reverend Mr Elisha Callender continued a serving faithfull Preacher of Christ to the 29 of Jan. 173⅞, being the Lords Day, preached his 2 last Sermons from the Second Psalm 12 the last Clase Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him. Sometime before he propounded three persons for baptism but his Indisposicion came so fast on him he was not able to administer the ordinance to them, and writes thus to brother Thomas Russell, "my Indisposicion of Body is Such and I am under such methods of cure as unfitts me altogether to attend the ordinance of Baptism to them. I am Heartily Conserned it is so with me, but there is no Resisting the Divine providence."

His Illness Increased, but his Faith & Patience continued to admiration and as he had Denied himselfe for Christ's sake and Preached him faithfully and followed him fully so by grace he was Inabled to Declare that he had got the victory over Death and the grave, gave much good advice to his friends, Executed his last will with seriousness and a composed frame of mind. Being asked what word of advice he had for the church, said, away with all

Lukewarmness, a—way with it. Live in love that the God of Love and peace may be with you. Improve your time for your Standing in the Church will be short and that is the way to prepare for the Inheritance of the Saints in LIGHT, and att 5 of the clock in the morning of March the 31st he said I shall now sleep in Jesus and that moment Died, very much lamented by all that knew him and was Desently intered on the tuesday next being the 4 day of April 1738.[1]

He was about fifty years of age and had been the beloved pastor for twenty years. One of the Boston papers of the time has the following notice:

On Friday morning last, after a lingering sickness, deceased the Rev Mr Elisha Callender, Minister of the Baptist Church in this town: a gentleman universally beloved, by people of all persuasions, for his charitable and catholic way of thinking. His life was unspotted and his conversation always affable, religious, and truly manly. During his long illness, he was remarkably patient and, in his last hours (like the blessed above) pacific and entirely serene: his senses good to the last.[2]

The records of the church contain a list of the brethren who subscribed one hundred and twelve pounds "towards Defraying the Charge of our Dear Deceased Pastors Funerall," and what moneys are left are to be paid to the minister's family. The funeral was evidently a State occasion and was participated in by many. The olden times do not seem to have been better than the modern in the matter of expensive funerals, and it is probable that the minister's family did not receive a large residue of the money. Mr. Callender's death was a severe blow to the church, from which it did not really recover until almost thirty years had passed.

[1] "Church Record." [2] "Boston Evening Post," April 3.



church immediately asked Elder John Callen- Newport, and Elder Edward Upham, of Spring- to preach on the next Lord's Day. Mr. Upham sked "to preach to us one part of the day on Sabbath for three months," and his pay to be "out of the Weekly Contribusion," and the re- der of the weekly contribution was to be paid he ministers widow for the support of herself amily." This arrangement, however, provided ut one-half of the Lord's Day. The church then inted a committee, consisting of Deacon Byles, on Drowne, and Brother Proctor,

it on the Severall ministers of this town whose names are written and Request of them In the name of the Church Each of them be pleased to preach to us one part of the Lords alternately untill they have preached once round. viz. Rev- Doctor Colman. Mr Cooper. Doc. Sewall. Mr Foxcroft. Mr her. Mr Gray. Mr Prince. Mr Webb. Mr Gee. Mr Wellsted. heckley. Mr Mather. Mr Byles. Mr Hooper. Mr Chauncy.[1]

ot all of these were pastors. Some of them were hing elders in their respective churches. The that this invitation was extended and accepted, vs how great a change had taken place in the at- le of the Congregational churches toward this rch. It was less than seventy years since the per- tion had been severe, almost beyond endurance, even at this time Baptists were greatly harassed ther parts of Massachusetts. But in Boston the ial character of the Callenders, father and son, to- er with the large benefactions to Harvard College

1 "Church Record."

by that generous Baptist merchant, Mr. Hollis, had won fraternal recognition.

Other causes had indeed contributed to this result. The Church of England had established itself in Boston under the powerful patronage of the king. The large increase of population by immigration had brought a miscellaneous assortment of people from every quarter, and they could not easily be held to the strict rule of the early Puritanism. There had been a very marked lessening of the spiritual fervor which characterized the first settlers. The Puritan churches were already under the baneful influence of the "Half-way Covenant," and were no longer the same in spirit as those of the pristine days. The influence of wealth-getting in a new world, and the limitless possibilities of trade and discovery, operated to relax the strenuousness of the earlier Puritan life. The temper of the times would not allow the old-time severities. Several exemption laws had been passed by the legislature of Massachusetts, but had been so adroitly worded as to make them in their actual working almost as odious and hateful as the severest laws. Nevertheless, neighborly relations with Baptists were growing, and the time when they could be thrust into jail for conscience' sake was almost gone forever. The death of Elder Callender brought out some fine exhibitions of the new fraternal spirit. It is not too much to say that he himself in his character and work was the largest factor in bringing about these changed and happier conditions. His name deserves a place of reverence and of great honor among Baptists.



CHAPTER XI

ORDINATION OF JEREMIAH CONDY. THE WHITFIELD REVIVAL. CHURCH IN SPRINGFIELD. SCHISM AND ORGANIZATION OF SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH. SAMUEL STILLMAN. BROWN UNIVERSITY. WARREN ASSOCIATION.

XI

"THREE persons had been propounded for baptism" when the pastor was ill and unable to baptize them. In July, 1738, Rev. John Callender, of Newport, was present in Boston, and the church by a formal vote requested him to administer baptism, to which he consented. They "were Decently Baptized with great Solemnity, a very great Number of Spectators being Present, and to all appearances were much affected."[1] The memories of the lately deceased pastor and the sacredness of the symbol of baptism were well calculated to make a great solemnity. It was natural that the church should turn to Rev. John Callender and hope to make him their pastor, but he was too firmly settled in Newport to be readily moved. Mr. Upham continued to preach for them until August 20, when Mr. Jeremiah Condy arrived from London. The church immediately sent him congratulations on his safe arrival and desired him to preach to them on one part of the Lord's Day.

On October 12, 1738, at a church meeting, "it was unanimously voted by eighteen Bretheren then present that the Revrend Mr Jeremiah Condy be Desired to accept the Pastoral Charge over this Church."[1] December 24 "Mr Condy Publickly declared to the Church and Congregation that he did accept the Churches Call."[1]

[1] "Church Record."



The church at once made arrangements for his settlement, and following the precedent set in the ordination of Mr. Callender, invited "Rev. Mr Appleton of Cambridge Mr Will Welsted Mr Will Hooper and Mr John Callender of Newport to assist & officiate att the Ordination of our Elected Pastor."[1] The letter sent to Cambridge was as follows:

Boston January 24. 1738. To the Church of Christ in Cambridge under the pastoral care of Revd Mr Nathanael Appleton. Hond & beloved in the Lord.

The Church of Christ in Boston lately under the care of the Revd Mr Elisha Callender deceased, having unanimously made choice of Mr Jeremiah Condy to take upon him the pastoral charge of this Church, of which Mr Condy has declared his acceptance,—This is therefore. Hond & beloved Brn to request of you to send your Revd Elder & Messengers to assist at ye ordination of our Said Elected Pastor on the Second Wednesday in February next—A request of the like tenoar with this we have made to the Churches in Boston under the care of ye Revd Messrs Welsted & Gray, and Mr Wm Hooper & to ye Church in Newport under ye care of the Revd Mr John Callender, Hond & Beloved, We heartily wish you all Spiritual blessing in Christ Jesus the glorious head of the Church, We are in behalf and by order of the Church your affectionate Brethren in the Gospel

SHEM DROWNE Deacon
JOHN CALLENDER
JAMES BOUND
BENJ LANDON
JOHN PROCTOR.[1]

These Congregational churches, together with the Newport Baptist Church, constituted the ordaining council. At the ordination of Mr. Callender none but Congregational churches had been invited.

[1] "Church Record."

The council was organized Feb. 14, 1738, "at the house of Brother Skinner Russell," by the choice of Mr. Appleton as moderator,

and having agreed upon the public proceedings of the day adjourned to the meeting-house, when the ordination was carried out in the following manner:—The Revd Mr Gray (Mr Welsted not being present being very much indisposed) began with prayer. Mr Callender preached from 1 Thessalonians 5 : 12. 13. Mr Appleton (chosen moderator of the council) gave the charge, and Mr Hooper the right hand of Fellowship.[1]

The sermon by Mr. Callender was by request of the church published.

The Baptist Church in Swansea felt aggrieved by the action of this church in inviting Congregational churches to the council, and sent a letter of protest, in which they say:

We shall be sorry to hear that you make use of, or improve, other ministers of other persuasions in the ordination of him whom you have chosen for that work: for we believe it to be not agreeable to your own principles: for we suppose you do not look upon them as persons regularly baptized, and, for that reason, not qualified to ordain your minister: for we do not find by the rules of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ that any were received into the Christian Church before baptism, much less to ordain others to the work of the ministry. Therefore we pray you to take it into your serious consideration before you proceed: for if you proceed in that way, it will be matter of grief to us, and we believe to the whole Church, and particularly to our brothers and sisters in Providence.[2]

How much of this protest was due to doctrinal strictness, and how much to the fact that the Newport

[1] "Church Record." [2] Backus, Vol. II., p. 33.

rch was invited and the Swansea and Providence
rches were not, it is now impossible to tell.
he protest did not avail. Mr. Condy had been
lent in Newport in 1730, and by request had
ched to the church there. In February, 1731, he
elected pastor of the church, but "some were
much dissatisfied,"[1] and he did not remain very
. He became one of the founders of the Literary
Philosophical Society in Newport, which was the
ursor of the Redwood Library. He was reputed
e an Arminian in his views, but it would appear
he was only lukewarm in regard to high Calvin-
views. He began his pastorate here with the
st of prospects, but the church did not prosper
r his ministry. He seems to have been a man of
emished reputation. He married Sarah, daugh-
f Deacon Shem Drowne.

October, 1739, the church voted "to have a lec-
on the Wednesday (at 3 o'clock) before the first
's Day in every month." It also discreetly voted
"when the subscriptions for the Support of this
ure fail, or there be a general neglect of attend-
at it, i. e. by ye members of the Church in and
t Town, the Elder of the Church may be entirely
berty to proceed with the Lecture or not."[2] By
rrangement the pastor would not be compelled to
re to empty seats. What they had feared came
ss, for in October, 1742,

ethren taking into Consideration the very thin appearance
Lecture, voted that the Lecture be dropped, and desired

[1] Comer's "Diary," p. 115. [2] "Church Record."

the Elder to meet the Ch. at the meeting-house upon Friday 3
'clock before every communion day, to assist them in their prepa-
rations for the Sacrament of ye Supper by prayer and a Discourse
suitable to the occasion, to which he consented.[1]

This preparatory lecture or discourse was long observed in New England, and is observed even now in many places; but in recent years has given place to the covenant meeting which is commonly observed in Baptist churches.

In the autumn of 1740 Rev. George Whitfield landed at Newport and began to preach wherever opportunity offered. The "great revival" sprang up and spread to every part of New England. It was met by fierce opposition in many of the orthodox churches. The two colleges, Harvard and Yale, by official action arrayed themselves against it. Dr. Charles Chauncy, the leading minister of Boston, wrote a volume in opposition. The legislature of Connecticut passed laws intended to shut Whitfield and all other itinerant evangelists out of the State. Pamphlets flew thick and fast. Pulpits sought to ignore the movement, and ministers privately dissuaded their members from attending the meetings. But the fiercer the opposition the more the flame of revival spread. It seemed to sweep everything before it. It was not a revival in the churches but affected unchurched people. The climax was reached when Whitfield preached on Boston Common to twenty thousand people. New England was mightily stirred not only by the revival, but also by the controversies which it evoked. It has been estimated that between thirty and forty thousand persons were converted



ister the Supper but referred the matter to his own church for further consideration. The Baptists in Bellingham had organized themselves into a church, but he did not find their condition sufficiently satisfactory to warrant his recognition of them. He went again, September, 1741, and baptized five persons, and again in April, 1743, for the same purpose, and thereafter visited them occasionally.

August 4, 1740, the Baptists in Springfield, many of whom were members of this church, wrote requesting a separate church organization. They requested that the pastor and messengers might be sent to help them "ordain the Rev M^{r} Edward Upham whom we have unanimously made choice of to be our pastor."[1] They also invited to the council the Baptist churches in Newport, Rehoboth, and New London.

Springfield Oct 14. 1740 at the house of M^{r} Lamberton Cooper the Church of Boston and the Church of Newport under the pastoral care of M^{r} John Callender, being met by their Elders and messengers, and formed into a Council, of which M^{r} John Callender was chosen moderator, after Solemn prayer for the divine blessing on the important affair going to be transacted, the request of the Brethren of the Baptist denomination resident in and about Springfield to the church in Boston requesting their dismission for ye end aforesaid was read, and an attested Copy of the Vote of the church in Boston requesting y^{r} dismission was produced—upon which the following persons appeared and Signified their desire to be dismissed for ye purpose abovementioned, namely.

Edward Upham	Victory Sykes	Daniel Leonard
John Leonard	Joseph Bale	Martha Leonard
Eliakim Cooley	John Remington	Sarah Leonard
Ebenezer Leonard	Abel Leonard	Mercy Bale
Joseph Ely	Lamberton Cooper	Rachael Leonard[1]

[1] "Church Record."



their godly ancestors, the first founders of said church were strict Calvinists as to the points aforementioned, nor would they by any means, as we can prove, suffer a Free Willer, or Arminian, if they knew a person so to be, to join with the church.[1]

The church voted unanimously that this letter should not be read and that no action should be taken. The minister pocketed the letter and the church made strenuous efforts to win these brethren back to its fellowship. Messengers were sent to them, but all in vain. Sister Ruth Bound, when the messenger went to her, answered that "that Text, 'Come out from among them and be ye Separate,' had been much impressed upon her mind,"[1] and she would not return to the church. Brother John Proctor was admonished, "but he was very stiff, and among other things which he said, asserted that they were all a parcel of Arminians."[2] Mr. Proctor was a somewhat noted schoolmaster of the town, which may have had something to do with his being "very stiff" in his doctrinal assertiveness.

They were all finally "Suspended from Communion" in 1743, and with others organized themselves, July 27, 1743, without the consent of this church, into an independent body. They met in the house of Mr. James Bound at the corner of Sheafe and Snowhill Streets, where they continued to worship about three years. They then removed to the schoolhouse of Mr. Proctor, near the corner of Tremont and Court Streets, and in March, 1746, met in the new meeting-house which they had built in Baldwin Place. It is now known as the Warren Avenue Baptist Church. For

[1] Letter in "Church Archives." [2] "Church Record."



years they called themselves the First Baptist
h of Boston, because they claimed that the old
h had so far departed from Baptist doctrine as
y the founders as to have lost right to the name.
laim was never made good. It is evident now
his church had not essentially changed its faith.
ading members remained stanch Baptists
hout Mr. Condy's ministry and loyally sup-
their pastor. It is doubtful if even he had
ed as much as was charged. He did not sympa-
vith the "New Lights," nor did John Callender
vport, whose Baptist orthodoxy was never ques-
. Beyond this there is nothing to prove that
urch did not hold the faith of the founders.

new church called Mr. Ephraim Bound, son of
Bound, to be their pastor, but found it difficult
ain his ordination. Almost all of the older
t churches had been opposed to the "New
" movement and were prejudiced against the
urch. I do not find that they applied to this
for assistance, but doubtless they would have
fused if they had applied. Finally, with the
Elder Wightman of Connecticut and Elder
of Leicester, Mr. Bound was ordained Sep-
, 1743, in Warwick. The new church grew
in members and zeal, so that it numbered
one hundred and twenty members in 1765,
ts first pastor was taken from them by death,
he First Church declined until it had not more
xty members.

17, 1750, Mr. Condy informed the church that
unable to support his family,

that the weekly contributions therefor had been lessening for some considerable time, and he was several hundred pounds in debt for his necessary support, and inasmuch as there was no great probability of his receiving sufficient from them and the congregation to pay the charges of his family, the Church and Congregation being small, the times being difficult and the Country Brethren doing nothing towards the maintenance of the ministry, it was necessary for him to relinquish his place and endeavor in some other way to procure a Living.[1]

The church proposed to send word to all the country brethren and to see what could be done. Twenty-one of them were notified, but only five came to the meeting. Nevertheless a special subscription was made for the minister, and he consented to remain one year longer. He did remain fourteen years longer, but the records are so scant that there are no means of knowing how he maintained his family.

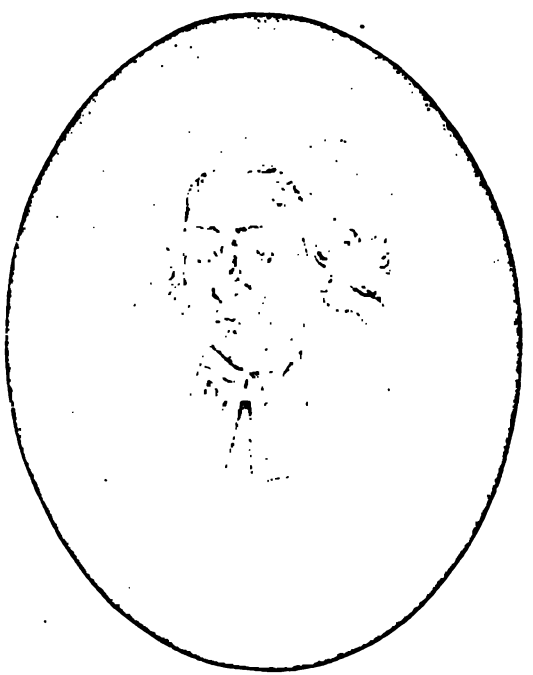
"March 11. 1759 This Day the congregation began to sing without the Psalms being read, Line by Line, it being found most agreeable, tho the Church did not pass any vote respecting it."[1] This was a great innovation, and doubtless might not have carried if it had been put to a vote, but the congregation finding it "most agreeable" never again went back to lining out the psalm.

Fast Day, April 3, 1760, the church took up a "collection of 143.£s. for the sufferers by the great fire in Boston March 20."[1] It would appear that the pastor's unsatisfactory salary was not due to the poverty of the members if they could make so large a contribution. In 1764 Mr. Condy resigned his office and lived in retirement in Boston until his

[1] "Church Record."







SAMUEL STILLMAN, D. D.
Minister, 1765–1807.



same degree from Harvard College. He was received everywhere with great favor because of his unusual pulpit gifts. A change of climate becoming imperative, because of some pulmonary difficulty, he came first to New Jersey and preached two years at Bordentown. He was then invited to become associate pastor with Mr. Ephraim Bound of the Second Baptist Church in Boston, and in 1763 accepted the invitation. He continued in that relation about one year when he became the pastor of this church, Sept. 9, 1764, and continued in that office more than forty-two years, until his death, March 12, 1807.

The church voted to give him "ten dollars a week as his salary & to find him his Fire wood."[1] In 1691 the salary of the minister of the First Parish Church was "40 shillings per week, 10£ fire wood per year, and the use of the ministry house." In 1726 the weekly salary had been increased to four pounds per week. The salary of Mr. Stillman was therefore respectable. When Mr. Thomas Baldwin was called to the Second Church in 1790, he was promised "$6 per week, the ministers house and 15 cords of wood annually." This was soon increased to twenty dollars per week.

Mr. Stillman had agreed to be associate pastor with Mr. Bound for one year, but it did not prove easy to arrange a satisfactory division of the pastoral duties. Some still clung to the old pastor, and a large number was greatly attracted to the eloquent young preacher. The church had very carefully provided that during his life Mr. Bound should be known

[1] "Church Record."



as the senior pastor, and that he should share equally with his young associate in salary and emoluments. His honors, position, and support were so carefully guarded that those of his colleague seem to have been somewhat overlooked. It was not easy for a man of so brilliant gifts as Mr. Stillman to remain in a position of irksome subordination to a man of the most ordinary talents and acquirements. Nor was it agreeable to the crowd of friends and admirers who quickly gathered around him. It was not wholly easy for the old pastor to have associated with him a man of so exceptional and attractive parts as preacher and pastor, and who had won the unbounded admiration of all. In truth, no minister of his generation was more generally admired in Boston than Mr. Stillman. He was a man of eloquence, of culture, and of courtly breeding, in all of which things the senior pastor was lacking.

The year did not pass without some friction between the friends of the two pastors. When, therefore, at the end of his year, the First Church invited Mr. Stillman to become its pastor, he readily accepted, although not without vehement protest from the Second Church, which had hoped that he would ultimately become its sole pastor. Many members of the Second Church followed Mr. Stillman to his new charge and united with the First Church. Some of them obtained letters of dismission, and some of them did not. The breach between the two churches was greatly widened. They had never been reconciled to each other from the time of their separation. Their meeting-houses were less than a block apart. The

First Church was on the corner of Salem and Stillman streets, and the Second was in Baldwin Place, just off from Salem Street.

Mr. Stillman was subjected to much unmerited criticism, and the unhappy feeling between the two societies ran high. There is nothing whatever to indicate that Mr. Stillman acted in any other than an honorable and Christian manner. The Second Church saw with chagrin when it was too late that they had lost their brilliant junior pastor. The First Church, which so long had been in a decline, entered at once on a career of great prosperity, which the fervid evangelistic gifts of the pastor greatly accelerated, while the Second Church as steadily declined. For some years they were unfortunate in their choice of pastors, and their history was disheartening.

In 1772 they became somewhat softened in their feeling toward Mr. Stillman, and voted that "he *might* preach in our meeting house," but he did not avail himself of this somewhat reluctant permission. The fourth pastor of the Second Church was Rev. Thomas Gair, who had been baptized while a youth into the First Church by Mr. Stillman. When he was installed, in April, 1788, the pastor of the First Church was among the officiating ministers, and from that time the breach was formally healed. The two churches have had only most loving relations in all the years since that day.

In December, 1764, arrangements were consummated for the installation of Mr. Stillman, and the precedents set at the installations of Mr. Callender and Mr. Condy were followed. The ministers of the



orthodox churches in Boston were invited to conduct the service. The following letter was sent to them:

To the Church of Christ in Boston under the Pastoral Care of the Rev^{d} M^{r} Ebenezer Pemberton. The Church of Christ in Boston under the care of the Rev^{d} M^{r} Condy, sendeth Greeting; Rev^{d} Honoured & Beloved, whereas our worthy Pastor the Rev^{d} M^{r} Jeremiah Condy who hath served us for 26 years in the Pastoral office, inclines to resign his Care of us (which indeed we mention with affection and regret) we have with his entire approbation made choice of the Rev^{d} M^{r} Samuel Stillman to the Pastoral office amongst us: To which he hath consented: we have therefore agreed to appoint, Wednesday the 9 of January, if the Lord will, to be the Time of his Solemn & public Installment to that Sacred Charge. We therefore now humbly ask the Presence of your Rev^{d} Elders & such other Delegates as you shall think proper to send with him to join in Council with the Rev^{d} Elders & messengers of several other Churches in carrying on the Business of the Day. In the meantime we request your prayers & wish Grace, Mercy, & Peace may rest upon you & the whole Israel of God, thro Jesus Christ our Lord to whom be Glory forever, amen.

we are your affectionate Brethren in the Gospel.

Signed by Order & in Behalf of the Church
Deacon SHEM DROWNE
Deacon JOHN BULFINCH
Deacon NATHAN HANCOCK
THOS. CRAFTS
ELIEZER CALLENDER.

Boston Dec. 13. 1764.

P. S. The other Churches applied to, are the Church of Christ in Brattle Street, the Old North Church & the New North Church all in Boston.[1]

For some unknown reason the Old South Church was not invited.

January 9, 1765. The Reverend Elders & Delegates met at the House of Brother Thomas Crafts, formed themselves into a

[1] "Church Record."

Council, & after having adjusted everything previously necessary to the Installment, were about to proceed to the Meeting House, but finding it so full that there was not Room sufficient to accommodate the Council, it was agreed to adjourn to the Old North Meeting House, where the Solemnity was thus conducted: The Rev^{d} M^{r} Cooper began with prayer, M^{r} Stillman preached from 2 Cor. 1. 24. The Rev^{d} M^{r} Pemberton gave the Charge. The Rev^{d} M^{r} Eliot the Right Hand of Fellowship, the Rev^{d} M^{r} Checkley, Jun^{r}, made the last prayer & the Rev^{d} M^{r} Condy took his leave of the Church with an affectionate Address.[1]

The Old North Church, where they met, was the second church of Boston, and was then located on Middle Street, and was the nearest church.

It is a notable fact that Mr. Stillman was asked to preach the sermon at his own installation, and is proof of the enviable position which he had already won as an eloquent preacher. The great crowd at the meeting-house shows that the long declining church with its "thin attendance" had once more become a center of popular interest.

It will be observed that no outside Baptist minister was invited to sit in the Council. It was doubtless due in part to the isolated position of the church, because of Mr. Condy's views in regard to the New Lights movement. Mr. Stillman found himself at the beginning of his ministry confronted with several grave difficulties. The First and Second churches, located but a few rods apart, held no fraternal relations. The First Church was also out of friendly relations with many other Baptist churches, and was itself in a low state. He conducted himself with singular wisdom and consecration. His ministry was

[1] "Church Record."

soon thronged with attendants. He preached the doctrines of grace after the manner of the earlier pastors of the church. Additions became numerous. His devout life and his courtly address gave him access to all classes of society. Fraternal relations were soon re-established with all the Baptist churches of New England. Even the Second Church could not withstand his genial and catholic spirit. No church could have given stronger evidence of assent and gratification than was given to the preaching of Mr. Stillman. There was no dissent from his strong Calvinistic doctrinal views. It is safe to infer that the church had not been led far astray by the more lax views of the former pastor, but that they had upheld him because of their loyalty to a pastor, and because of his many excellent personal qualities. There was the same steady loyalty toward Mr. Stillman, and during the forty-two and a half years of his pastorate there was unbroken harmony.

Oct. 17. 1764. Voted that all the Pews in the Meeting House (except the Ministerial Pews) be taxed for the support of the Gospel amongst us, and that the following Persons be a Committee for that Purpose, viz:

M^r^ JOHN BULFINCH
NATHAN HANCOCK
THO^s^ CRAFTS
PHILIP FREEMAN
GERSHOM FLAGG.

Voted that Brother Tho^s^ Crafts Sen^r^ be a Standing Treasurer for the Church.[1]

This is the first record of a "standing committee" that is found in our annals. It was empowered to

[1] "Church Record."

tax all pews, to collect moneys, to settle disputes about pews, to repair the meeting-house, and to meet the expenses of the church. Before this time the minister had been supported by the weekly contributions, and this was supplemented by special subscriptions to meet deficiencies. The minister's salary had been very uncertain and his support precarious. The new system of a regularly paid salary and a definite financial support began with the beginning of Mr. Stillman's pastorate. It was found that the meeting-house needed repairs to the amount of five hundred and thirty-three pounds and ten shillings (Old Tenor), and the work was done immediately. Previous to this time all financial matters had been in the care of the deacons. Since that time all the expenses for maintaining public worship have been in the care of a standing committee.

May 15, 1765, the church sent its pastor and delegates to aid in the recognition of a Baptist church in Haverhill. This body was gathered through the ministry of Rev. Hezekiah Smith. He had been an itinerant preacher and was in hearty sympathy with the New Lights movement. In the course of his preaching tours he came to Haverhill, and finding a number of Baptists, he organized them into a church and became their pastor. At his settlement his friends tried to secure the use of the First Parish Meeting-house at such times as it might not be in use by the regular society, but the Parish Committee refused them and vigorously lectured the twenty-two petitioners, although some of them were leading citizens of the town, "for having itching ears and heaping one



[redacted]

Anabaptist preacher upon another, and for holding evening lectures which are oftentimes attended with a confused noise and indecent gestures." They refused the meeting-house as "a theatre for enthusiasts and fanatics to act all their wild and extravagant tricks in." This illustrates the attitude of the majority of the churches of the Standing Order toward Baptists at this period.

Mr. Smith was a graduate of Princeton in 1762, and took his M. A. degree there in 1765. He was a man of fine culture, of courtly manners, a notable gentleman, and of undoubted scholarship. He was tall and very impressive in personal appearance. He was one of the noblest Christian ministers of his generation. But all these things availed little in the face of the intense prejudice against dissent from the Congregationalist Church. He met with violent opposition. His life was often threatened and often assailed. He was stoned and mobbed, and otherwise maltreated because he had the temerity to plant Baptist churches within the geographical bounds of the regular parish churches. His career is a romance of dangers, of dauntless courage, of unwearied devotion, and of singular usefulness. He was a man of commanding eloquence, of fervid piety, and of unblemished life. He made Haverhill the center of his work, but constantly preached over a wide extent of territory.

During the Revolutionary War he was one of the most famous of the chaplains in Washington's army. He was often in Boston, and maintained a close friendship with Mr. Stillman until his death. At

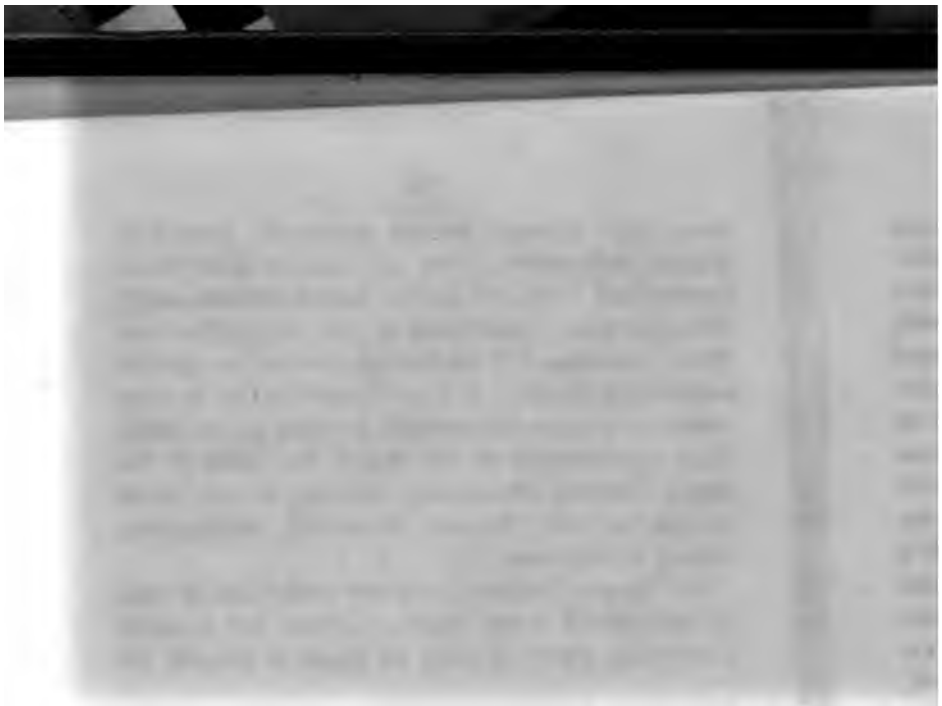
the recognition of Mr. Smith as pastor, in November, 1766, Mr. Stillman, Mr. John Gano, of New York, and Dr. Manning, president of Rhode Island College, were the officiating ministers. In 1772 the Haverhill Church had grown to have the largest membership of any Baptist church in Massachusetts.

"Nov. 28. 1766 Voted that the Overplus of the Collection made after the Communion Service, after paying for the Bread & Wine, be deposited in the hands of the Church Treasurer for the Poor of the Church." This is the first record of a regular offering for the poor, although there are constant mentions of assistance rendered to them. Such aid must have been through private beneficence. It was found that there were sixty pounds which under the preceding vote could be divided among those in need. There had been also a few small bequests to the church for the same purpose.

In November, 1766, the deacons reported that Mrs. Condy, wife of the late pastor, explained her absence from church "that she did not like ye Doctrines that were preached by our Minister & that she sho[d] choose her own Minister."[1] Mrs. Condy evidently had her own mind as to which of the two ministers she liked the better, and who shall blame her for loyalty to the former pastor and for her wifely devotion? The church, however, "voted her answer not satisfactory," and evidently thought that admiration for her husband could not take the place of her covenant obligations to the church.

In February, 1764, the legislature of Rhode Island

[1] "Church Record."



New England, and at its very inception was firmly wedded to the support of Christian education. It was the nursing mother of Brown University. The next meeting of the Association (1769), coming as it did after the first commencement of the college, was a notable occasion. Distinguished Baptists from Philadelphia were present. The reports from the churches "mentioned grievous oppressions and persecutions from the Standing Order, especially the one from Ashfield, where religious tyranny had been carried to great lengths."[1] A committee was appointed to seek redress from the General Court, viz: Rev. Samuel Stillman, Philip Freeman, Philip Freeman, Jr., John Proctor, Nathan Spear. The first three named were from this church. This was the beginning of that long service which Mr. Stillman rendered in behalf of oppressed churches. For many years he was chairman of the committee on grievances, and presented petition after petition to the General Court for redress. His voice and pen were always active in this service. His brethren in the Association entrusted to him this difficult mission and always gave him their ardent support. He was unwearied in this service of protest and defense. He afterward had the Rev. Isaac Backus, the eminent Baptist historian, as his indefatigable coadjutor in the work of obtaining liberty for Baptists in this commonwealth.

[1] Guild, "Brown University and Manning," p. 78.

CHAPTER XII

A New Meeting-House. Revolutionary War. Siege of Boston. Election Sermon. Gift of Mrs. Brown. Education Society. Prayer Meetings.

XII

In 1770 the old meeting-house, which had stood more than ninety years, was found to be inadequate to the needs of the church, and conferences began concerning a new and larger house. By gift and exchange the size of the original lot of land was much increased, and preparations were made to remove the old house with which so many tender memories were associated. Every pastor of the church had preached in it, excepting Thomas Goold. Its doors had been nailed up by order of the General Court. It had witnessed the long struggle of the church and also its prosperous triumph. The proprietors appointed the following

Committee on Subscriptions for building the new meeting-house.

Joseph Callender	Philip Freeman
Samuel Setton	Deac^{n} Nathan Hancock
Samuel Bangs	Deac^{n} John Bulfinch

John Harriss of Charlestown.[1]

The Standing Committee at the same time was:

Capt John Matchett	M^{r} Eliezer Callender
M^{r} Thomas Crafts	M^{r} John Ingersoll
M^{r} Thomas Drowne	M^{r} Joseph Callender

M^{r} Philip Freeman.[1]

The next step which the church took bears elo-

[1] "Pew Proprietors' Book."



quent testimony to the new position which it had won in the town. It was

Voted May 14. 1771, that a committee be appointed to wait upon our Brethren of the New Brick to ask y^e^ Liberty of their Meeting-house after their Service is over, till such times as the new Meeting-house is fit to receive us. In case they should refuse, to apply to the old North Church & if they should deny, to go to y^e^ Select Men & request y^e^ use of Fanieul Hall.[1]

At one time any one of these requests would have been the height of temerity, but that time had passed. The committee reported,

that our brethren of the New Brick thought it would introduce Confusion in the Town on the Lords Day, to meet after their service was over, therefore agreed that as they were a small Assembly, we might meet at the same Time with them, *D^r^ Pemberton* to preach half y^e^ Day & *M^r^ Stillman* half y^e^ Day : the one Congregation to Mark S[2] on their Money : & y^e^ other P, & to make an equal Division of the loose Money. Voted to accept their kind Offer & meet with them upon the above Proposal.[3]

This was certainly a most hospitable and generous proposal. The Brick Church, which thus kindly housed us, was located on Hanover Street near North Square, and its pastor was Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton. In 1776 it united with the Second Church (now on Copley Square), whose house of worship had been torn down by order of General Howe to provide firewood for the British troops. Both societies had been greatly depleted by the exodus of families when the British were besieged in Boston.

[1] "Church Record." [2] S for Stillman, P for Pemberton.
[3] "Church Record."

Lord's Day 16^th^ June 1771. The Rev^d^ Samuel Stillman our Pastor Preached his last Sermon in the Old Meeting House which had been Built upward of Ninety Years, his discourse was well adapted to the Occasion & he particularly recommended Brotherly Love & Unity being the Cement of all Christian Societys.[1]

The church

voted June 12 to request of our Brethren of the other Baptist Church ye Use of their Cistern for Baptism during the time that our Meeting house is building.[2]

The other church had built a baptistery near the head of the broad aisle in their meeting-house about 1770. It was in use more than forty years. It is thought to have been the first baptistery in a meeting-house in this country.

It required no little courage for the church to proceed with the building of a new meeting-house. The times were full of disquiet. Money was difficult to get. The country was restless with political agitation. The Stamp Act had been passed, rebelled against, and repealed. Two regiments of British troops had been quartered in the town as a kind of military police to overawe the people. The so-called "Boston Massacre" had taken place in the year preceding, and American blood had flowed almost on the very spot where Obadiah Holmes had been whipped more than a hundred years before. This first collision between the British troops and the citizens of Boston had left a spirit of bitterness and restlessness. The great Revolution was already foreshadowed, and its forerunners were already filling the land with a vague

[1] "Pew Proprietors' Book."



uneasiness and a foreboding disquiet. The need of more room must have been urgent indeed to lead the church to build in the midst of such difficulties.

The work was pursued with such dispatch that the house begun in May was ready for occupancy in December. It was fifty-seven feet long and fifty-three feet wide and very solidly built. It had against the wall a very high pulpit, the entrance to which was by a narrow winding stair. It stood back from Salem Street about one hundred and fourteen feet, so that there was a fine lawn in front. A wide plank walk led up to the front door from Salem Street. On one side of this walk was a fine well of water, to which there was much recourse by the whole neighborhood. The meeting-house pump was honored with constant use. The rear of the house was not far from the salt water. A small vestry was attached at the south-westerly side, and there was a small porch in front. Stillman Street ran along the side of the lot, which had a depth of two hundred and fifty feet. This house was twice enlarged during Dr. Stillman's ministry, in 1791 and in 1799. The first time twenty-four feet were added to the west end, making the dimensions fifty-seven by seventy-seven feet. The second time an additional vestry was added at the northwest corner, forty-six by nineteen feet. The house had a belfry or cupola in which hung a bell. It was a capacious and well-appointed meeting-house. It was lighted at night by means of candles. The following additional facts concerning the old meeting-house, which was removed to make way for the new house, are worthy of preservation.

SECOND MEETING-HOUSE.
1771–1829.



In 1737 a committee was appointed "for Enlarging our Meeting house & Seting up a Number of Pews for the accommodation of Such Persons as desire them,"[1] but what was the extent of this enlargement is unknown.

Lord's Day Dec^{r} 8 1771 *M^{r} Stillman* took an affectionate Leave of the Rev D^{r} *Pemberton's* Church & Congregation, from 2 Cor. 13 : 11. *Finally Brethren*, Farewell : *Be of good Comfort : be of one Mind, be perfect, live in Peace, &c ye God of Love &c Peace shall be with you.* He publickly thanked them in ye Name & Behalf of our Church & Congregation for their Kindness & Christian Conduct towards us for 6 Months : in all which Time the two Societies maintained a happy Union & Friendship : & parted with Affection.[1]

Lords Day Dec^{r} 22 1771. This Day our new Meeting house was opened, When the Minister preached the first Sermon from Ezra. 5. 11 *We are the Servants of the God of Heaven & Earth, & build the House which was builded there many Years ago.* In the Afternoon he preached from Hag. 2. 7. *I will fill this House with Glory, saith the Lord of Hosts.* The House was crowded & a Collection made to help defray the Expense of building it, which amounted to £130 old Tenor.[1]

The "Pew Proprietors' Book" has a more detailed account :

The new Meeting House being Rebuilt & Compleated in about six months, The Society met in it for the first time, and it was now Consecrated, the Exercises of the day were introduced by singing an Anthem taken out of the 122 Psalm, a suitable discourse was made by our Rev^{d} Pastor, from these words in Ezra 5. 11 We are the Servants of the God of Heaven & Earth & Build the House that was Builded there many Years ago, the Service of the Fore part of the Day was concluded with a Second Anthem taken out of 29 Psalm, in the afternoon was another Ser-

[1] "Church Record."

mon Preach'd by our Pastor from II Haggai & VIII verse, And I will fill this House with Glory saith the Lord of Hosts: They were well Improved to the occasion & the service of the Day Ended by an Anthem taken out of the 104 Psalm and the Singing was well Performed both parts of the day by a select number who favoured the Society with their performance which Gave great satisfaction to a Crowded Audience.

The Proprietors evidently felt a sense of relief that the singing was satisfactory and was not of the usual distressful kind. Previous to the opening of this house the church agreed to use Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns in place of the version of Tate and Brady. It is easy to believe that the smooth metres of Dr. Watts' Hymns made singing in public worship a more delightful exercise. The phrase, "The Proprietors of Pews of the First Baptist Meeting House in Boston," occurs for the first time in the records of Dec. 1, 1771, in connection with this house now rebuilt.

The year following the opening brought many tokens of refreshing from the Lord. Baptisms were numerous, congregations were large, and the church prospered. The following records throw light on the circumstances of the times:

August 2. 1772. Patrick Connelly, who had been baptized some Months before, but was called away to Sea before Communion Day, was received into ye Chh.[1]

Dr. Stillman was very popular among sailors, and whenever they were in port it was the particular pleasure of many of them to be among his listeners. It was no unusual thing for him to address them specifically in the midst of his sermon, and appeal to

[1] "Church Record."

them in some homely illustration taken from their peculiar calling and which had in it the flavor of the sea. Many sailors referred their conversion to these impassioned appeals so specially directed to them.

"Nov^{r} 1. 1772. After divine Service Hannah Dunmore & Cloe, a Negro Woman belonging to M^{r} George Green of Boston were rec^{d} into the church."[1] Our records have many notices of baptisms and marriages among Negro people, and until early in the present century there was a large group of them in this church. In 1804 Dr. Stillman ordained the first Negro Baptist minister in Boston, the Rev. Thomas Paul, pastor of the First African Church, in Joy Street.

"Sep^{r} 4. 1774 Benj^{a} Foster of Danvers & Student at Yale College rec^{d} into the Church, having been baptized a Fortnight before."[1] He was the son of Congregational parents in Danvers, and at the age of twenty became a member of Yale College, where he took distinguished rank as a scholar. He obtained his degree in 1774, at about which time some discussion having arisen among the students upon the subject of baptism, Mr. Foster was appointed to defend the practice of Pedobaptists. He was their brilliant scholar and champion. In careful preparation for this service, he made extended investigation and study, but to the disappointment of all his friends and to his own surprise, he became convinced of the error of his former views, and avowed himself a Baptist. He was baptized by Dr. Stillman, who also directed his theological studies during the next two years,

[1] "Church Record."



when he was ordained pastor of the Baptist church in Leicester. He was afterward pastor in Newport, R. I., and in New York City, where he died of yellow fever in 1798. He gained much distinction as a scholar and preacher, and his early death was deeply lamented.

The last entry in the church records for March 22, 1775, is followed by the next in June, 1776. Between these two dates very stirring scenes were witnessed in and around Boston. In March, Dr. Warren made his famous oration in the Old South Meeting-house, in the presence of threatening British officers. In April, the fights at Lexington and Concord took place. In May, the British were besieged in Boston by patriot troops gathered from every quarter. In June, the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. The siege was pressed with determination and almost all of the inhabitants fled. It is thought that not more than one-eighth of the population remained in the town. The British commander seized upon private residences and public buildings at his pleasure. The Old South was turned into a riding school for the cavalry. The Old North was used for firewood. The First Baptist Meeting-house was turned into a barrack for British troops and afterward used as a hospital. The members were scattered widely. Dr. Stillman, one of the foremost of the patriot orators, left the town with his family and withdrew to Philadelphia. There his voice was heard at once in fervid advocacy of the patriot cause. He was called to preach before the Continental Congress then in session in that town. He remained engaged in useful service until the evacuation of Boston, when he returned to his church.

1776 Lord's Day June 2. This Day our Meeting house was again opened for divine Worship, by our Pastor, who together with the Church, had been in a depressed Condition, More than a year: which melancholy Situation of us as a Society, & of the Town of Boston in general, had been occasioned by the Commencement of Hostilities by the British Troops, on the ever memorable 19 of April. 1775. The Lord hath chastened us sore, yet hath he not given us over unto Death. Glory be to his holy Name, that he hath again admitted us to return to our own place & the Enjoyment of our religious Privileges. May his holy Hand in Correcting us be properly attended to: & may we have Reason in the end to say, It was good for us that we have been afflicted.[1]

The members were impoverished as well as scattered. Business was stagnant. The war continued. The meeting-house was in need of renovation and repair. The smallpox had been prevalent, and the use of the house as a hospital did not make it more inviting as a place of worship. The outlook was discouraging. Dr. Stillman's family remained in Philadelphia, which then seemed farther removed from the center of military operations. But he began at once the work of rehabilitation and the gathering of the scattered flock. It was long before prosperity fully returned.

Sept. 8, 1776, the church sent the pastor and messengers to ordain Mr. Thomas Gair at Medfield. The church there, which had been constituted in the July preceding, was composed largely of members from this church. Mr. Gair, at the age of sixteen, had been baptized by Dr. Stillman in 1771, and was cherished by him as a son. He graduated from Rhode Island College in 1776, and remained the pas-

[1] "Church Record."



tor in Medfield until 1788, when he became the pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston. When he was installed in the latter place, Dr. Stillman, for the first time since the rupture between the two churches, officiated in their meeting-house, and the relations ever after were cordial. Mr. Gair was in the midst of a career of great usefulness when he died at the early age of thirty-six.

The church records of this time bear sad testimony to the moral ravages made by the war. There was a general laxness of conduct, and the church was much engrossed by the necessities of constant discipline. Drunkenness is a sin often mentioned, and women as well as men were guilty of it. Neglect of public worship became widespread. Society became seriously disorganized. Many foreign vices had been imported and had become domiciled during the distractions of the war. French infidelity became fashionable. French, Hessian, and English soldiers brought with them not only European vices, but also European ideas concerning religion. The soldiers were indeed conquered, but it was not so easy to extirpate the immoral influences which they left behind them. It was a time of transition from Puritan strictness to Revolutionary laxity. When the War of Independence closed, the whole country was in a ferment of disorganization preceding the final forms of organized government. It was in the midst of such conditions that the pastor and the few members who had returned to their homes took up again the work of the church. It required no little heroism for Dr. Stillman to assume the pastorate in 1765 after

Mr. Condy had brought the church so low, but it required still greater courage to begin over again in 1776 in the midst of these moral desolations. But there was no hesitancy and no delay.

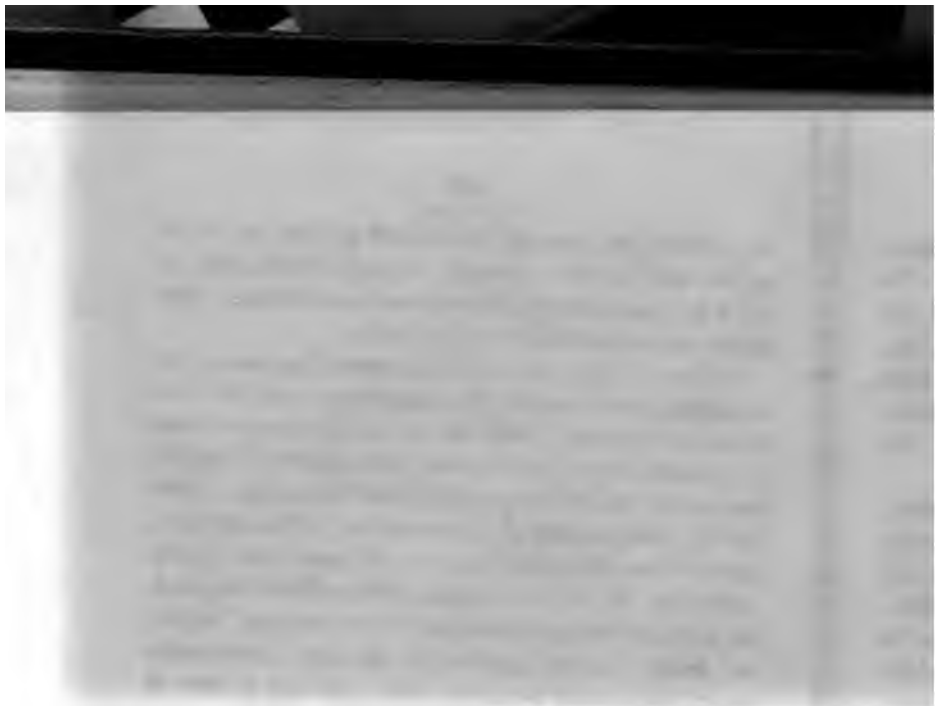
In March, 1777, the church learned that one of its members, John Lassell, "had openly avowed the Doctrine of universal Salvation in the full sense of that Expression, or as held by one John Murray,"[1] and in September he was suspended from fellowship. John Murray, the founder of Universalism in this country, arrived from England in 1770, and soon after began preaching his doctrines, especially in New England. He gathered many followers at Gloucester and Boston, and finally became pastor of the first Universalist church organized here in 1786. He was a man of much eloquence and power, and drew after him some Baptists. The church

voted to have a contribution on Wednesday next (Dec 30 1778) ye day appointed for a continental thanksgiving for the poor people of *Rhode Island* who are now in a distressed condition, being driven from their habitations by the *British Troops*.[1]

This collection, which amounted to four hundred and sixty dollars, was duly transmitted to the starving people of Rhode Island.

In February, 1779, the church "voted that ye minister in ye name of the Church be desired to propose to M^{r} Skillman that some method sho^{d} be fallen upon to unite ye two churches, now too shy of each other,"[1] and in March it was reported to them:

[1] "Church Record."



[redacted]

That it was agreeable to the sister church under the care of the Rev^d M^r Skillman, that there should be a union between the two churches, & that in case either of the ministers should be sick the members of each church should be invited to the communion of the other: that ye ministers should exchange pulpits as often as they sho^d think proper, & that the churches shall not interfere with ye discipline of each other.[1]

This was an official settlement of the difficulty between the First and Second churches, but there does not seem to have been any real fellowship until after the settlement of Mr. Gair in 1788.

In September, 1779, a radical departure from an unvarying custom was made. The brethren only were attendants at church meetings for the transaction of all business. All cases of discipline were managed by them. Women had no voice in any of the business of the church. But now in a delicate case of discipline of a certain Anne Plympton, a committee of three women was appointed to wait upon her and to report at the next church meeting. This was a marked innovation, but seems to have aroused no dissent, and the women performed their duty quite as faithfully and discreetly as the men might have done.

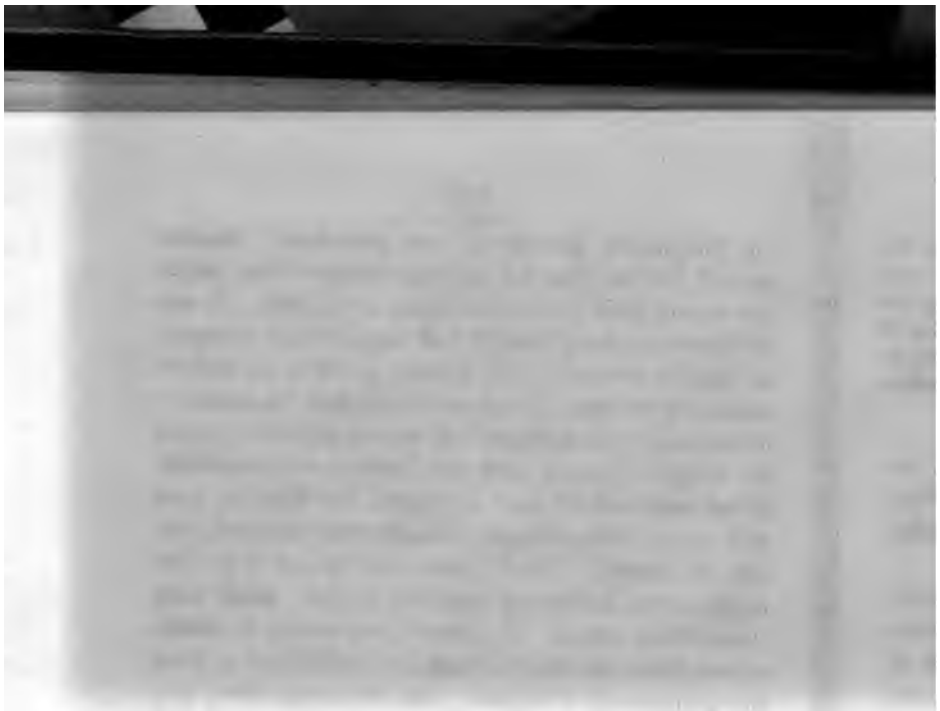
In 1770 Dr. Stillman preached the annual sermon before the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company in Boston. In 1779 he was appointed by the Legislature to preach the annual election sermon. There was some opposition to him on the ground that he was a Baptist, and one member was so intensely opposed that by means of restless agitation he obtained a reconsideration of the appointment. But

[1] "Church Record."

Dr. Stillman's popularity was abundantly demonstrated, for the vote for his appointment was larger the second time than it had been at the first. It was the first time that a Baptist had been invited to preach an election sermon. His sermon set forth the radical difference between Church and State, and the necessity of keeping them distinct. It was an eloquent appeal for religious liberty and the freedom of conscience. There was need of such an appeal, for Baptists were still being distressed all through New England, outside of Boston. Their goods were seized to pay the ecclesiastical tax to the Standing Order. Many were thrown into prison. It seemed impossible to obtain redress from the Courts, from the Legislature, or from the Continental Congress. Dr. Stillman's fame as a preacher and a patriot gave unusual weight to his protest and appeal. His sermon was afterward published.

The times were now very hard. The currency was depreciated. Commerce was ruined. An extract from Dr. Stillman's wedding registry throws light on the financial difficulties. He received as the wedding fee, "Aug 4. 1780. 2 Hard dollars at 65 for one or 130 Continental dollars," and in the same year again, "½ Guinea or 75 dollars" as a fee. One needed a basket to carry the depreciated Continental paper money of that time.

July 5, 1781, the church sent the minister, Deacon Gridley, John Bartlett, and Ebenezer Hills to assist in the recognizing of "a number of baptized persons at Cambridge, Second precinct," as a Baptist church, and "finding things agreeable, ye church was consti-



tuted."[1] This is now the church in Arlington. In September, 1783, Dr. Stillman preached the sermon at the reopening of Rhode Island College, which had been closed by the British occupancy of Providence. The college buildings had been used by the troops, and its work was temporarily suspended. The sermon was a thankful and animating discourse.

Nov 1783 the melancholy case of our sister *Sprague* was laid before the Church, she having a cancer in her breast, which will cost 50 Dollars to take out & she has not one dollar in the world.[1]

The struggles of the poor were the same then as to-day. The church assisted her, and presumably the surgeon got his fifty dollars.

In June, 1786, several persons were baptized, and among them "Margaret Swift, ye latter but 13 years of age."[1] It was not customary to receive very young persons into this church, and hence this record. Little Margaret was the forerunner of a host of the young, who have since that time been baptized upon a profession of their faith. She began a very happy innovation upon the custom of the fathers.

June 18, 1788, the minister and Deacon Gridley went to Newton to attend the ordination of Mr. Joseph Grafton. He afterward fulfilled a notable ministry there of forty-seven years. He was a man of great and varied influence among Baptists. Everybody knew and honored "Father Grafton." In this year "Deacon Gridley requested permission of ye chh to sit in his own pew, instead of ye Deacons seat."[1] He said that "ye seat under ye pulpit was inconvenient for seeing ye minister."[1] The pulpit was high up on the wall, and underneath and in front was the pew for the deacons, who faced the congregation and were invested with much awe and officialism. Deacon Gridley evidently felt that it would be better to be one among his brethren, to sit with his own family, and to see the minister, than to enjoy all the pomp of a deaconship in the deacons' pew. The church never went back to the custom of having its deacons sit under the pulpit.

[1] "Church Record."

At this period the standing committee of the Pew Proprietors relieved the deacons of the most of the financial burden which had rested on them in the older times. The deacons no longer provided for the salary of the minister and the support of public worship. They cared for the poor, attended to discipline, looked after arrangements for the Lord's Supper, and were the pastor's counselors in spiritual matters.

In September, 1785, Hon. Nicholas Brown (father of Nicholas Brown from whom Brown University was named, and himself also one of its liberal benefactors) married Avis Binney, who had been a member of this church since 1765. Mr. Brown and Dr. Stillman were intimate friends, and when the former died (in 1791) the latter preached his funeral sermon in Providence. The widow gave the church in 1792 the sum of fifty pounds, as the following correspondence will show:

June 18. 1792. The following letter was communicated to the Church by the minister: To the First Baptist Church in Boston

[1] "Church Record."

under the pastoral care of the Rev^{d} D^{r} Sam^{l} *Stillman*, Please to accept ye sum of fifty pounds which I now send you by ye hands of your Rev^{d} pastor which it is my desire shall be appropriated as the beginning of a fund for the sole use of the widows of ye ministers of your church forever. My desire is that it be put out on interest in ye best manner & in ye safest hands : & ye interest constantly added to ye principal until such an object as mentioned above shall appear to need assistance : and then that ye interest only be made use of. By this beginning, tho small, I hope some of our friends will be excited to make such additions as may in time afford ample & permanent assistance to persons of ye above description. The importance & necessity of such a fund is obvious, if we consider ye impossibility of our ministers laying up any part of their sallaries for ye support of their widows : which makes their condition peculiarly distressing. A recent instance of this nature must have come under your observation. I trust your own reflections will render it unnecessary for me to mention any motives for your *immediate* attention to this necessary & important subject. I bless God that your present prosperous condition as a church puts it in your power to do something in this way. Pardon my presumption if I suggest your opening a subscription for all who may be disposed to give to this use, or immediately attending to the matter in any way you think most prudent and effectual. The smallest additions to an accumulating fund wo^{d} soon make it of consequence and ye income wo^{d} probably be considerable by ye time it sho^{d} be wanted. Requesting an interest in your prayers,

I subscribe with much affection
Your Sister & Friend
AVIS BROWN.

P. S. It is my desire that you will permit D^{r} Stillman to superintend this matter & act for me, with such persons as ye church may join with him, as tho I were personally present with you.
A. B. Providence June 8. 1792[1]

At the next meeting the church voted that,

[1] "Church Record."

whereas Mrs Avis Brown, widow of the late Nicholas Brown, Esquire, of Providence, State of Rhode Island, deceased, from ye benevolence of her disposition, has given to this church for ye benefit of the widows of ye present & of all future pastors thereof, the sum of fifty pounds lawful money as the beginning or foundation of a perpetual fund : the income whereof is to be paid to the said widows while they shall so continue. But the income of said fund, during those intervals of time, wherein shall exist no objects of ye donation, shall be added to, & become a part of said fund, the income whereof shall be paid as above mentioned.[1]

The church voted to accept this gift and the conditions attached, and the pastor and the three deacons were made the trustees for the investment and care of this fund. It was given manifestly to provide for the widow of Dr. Stillman when he should pass away, and is another evidence of the abounding love which existed toward the pastor. Within the next twenty-eight years two pastors' widows were beneficiaries of this fund. It has accumulated until at the present time it amounts to about eight thousand five hundred dollars.

In 1787 Dr. Stillman was elected a member from Boston to the Federal Convention of Massachusetts, which was called to consider the adoption of the new National Constitution. He was one of twelve representatives sent by Boston, and was the only minister in the delegation. The convention met January 9, 1788, in the State House, but soon adjourned to Mr. Belknap's meeting-house in Long Lane, in order to have more room. The debates between Federalist and Anti-Federalist grew very hot and lasted almost a month. Massachusetts was considered the hinge

[1] "Church Record."



on which the fate of the National Constitution turned. There were twenty Baptist delegates out of the three hundred and fifty-five members of the convention. Dr. Stillman was among the foremost for the adoption and used all his influence to that end. He was one of the majority (one hundred and eighty-seven to one hundred and sixty-eight) in its favor. Some of the Baptist delegates voted against it, through fear that liberty of worship was not sufficiently guaranteed. It was no small distinction that Boston should have chosen Dr. Stillman as one of its twelve delegates. In 1789 he was chosen by the town of Boston to deliver the annual oration on the Fourth of July.

There were some ripples on the surface of his ministry, prosperous and useful as it was.

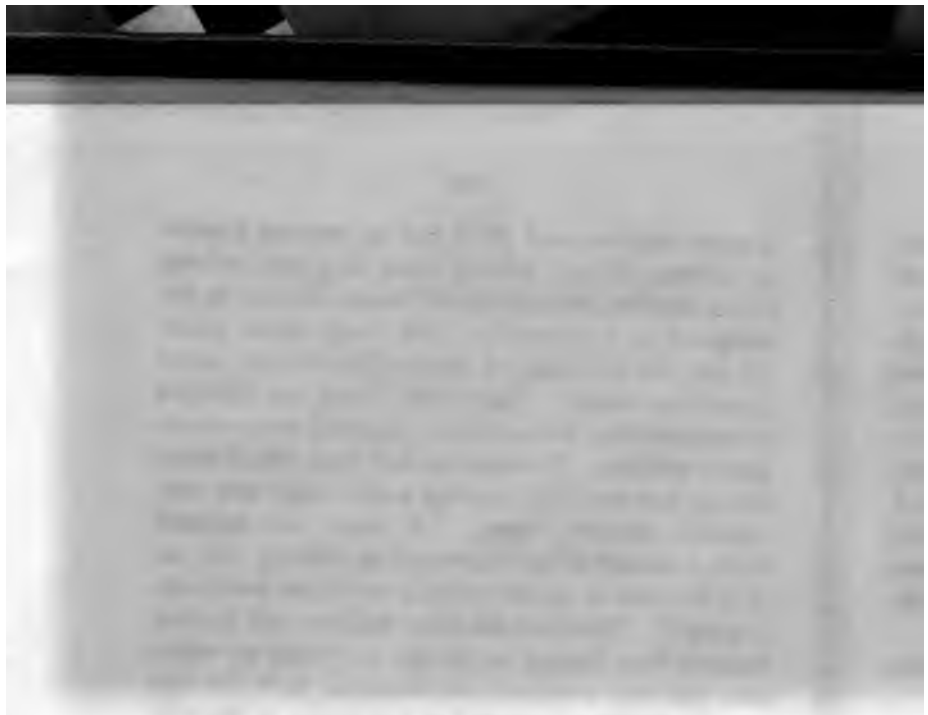
Josias Nuttage rose up in the public assembly and went out of the Meeting house in a passion, because he disliked something ye minister had said.[1]

He was disciplined by the church and afterward confessed his fault in so moving a manner that "his acknowledgement bro' tears in many eyes."[1] In the previous year, "sister Hannah Gray offended the minister & his family by tatling & lying,"[1] and was brought before the church, where she made a most humble confession and promised solemnly for the future "to set a watch on my tongue & to be more careful of my conversation & behavior."[1] Disturbances such as these show that human nature does not vary from age to age.

In the year 1791 the church received many additions by baptism, and there was an unusual interest in spiritual things. Among those thus received was Oliver Holden, who afterward became famous as the composer of "Coronation," and many other tunes. He was the publisher of many collections of sacred hymns and tunes.[1] The meeting-house was enlarged to accommodate the increasing numbers who came to public worship. Twenty-four feet were added to the west or rear end, thus making a very large and commodious assembly room. "A letter was received from ye society called Universalists, offering the use of their place of public worship while our own is enlarging."[2] This kind offer was declined with thanks, because "we expect to occupy ye house ye whole time that the workmen are enlarging it."[2] In this year Dr. Stillman preached in Providence at the ordination of Jonathan Maxcy, who became pastor of the First Church and shortly afterward the distinguished second president of the college. Sept. 14, 1791, Dr. Stillman was present at the meeting of the Warren Association in New Rowley, now Georgetown, Mass., and presented a plan for the establishing of a fund "for the purpose of assisting such young men of the Baptist denomination as may appear to be suitably qualified for the ministry, with a collegiate education." After consideration it was unanimously adopted and a Board of twelve gentlemen, called "The Trustees of the Baptist Education Fund," was chosen. In this movement Dr. Stillman was the leader, and was the chairman of the society, whose charter required that all its meetings should be held in Boston or elsewhere in Massa-

[1] "Church Record."

[1] Burrage, "Baptist Hymn Writers," p. 236. [2] "Church Record."



chusetts. The fund accumulated slowly, but many young men were assisted. The first "approved applicant" was a Boston young man, William Collier. This was the origin of the present Northern Baptist Education Society, whose happy office through more than a hundred years has been the aiding of students for the ministry to acquire a liberal education.[1]

In 1791 the Warren Associational committee on grievances met in Boston and sent a letter to the First Parish in Barnstable, which had distressed the Baptist church there through the ecclesiastical tax:

> Having therefore received a well attested account from Barnstable, that some of the members of our society have been repeatedly taxed and their property taken from them to support the Congregational minister of that place, from whom they conscientiously dissent, and though they have a minister of their own to maintain, we, the committee of the Baptist churches, think it our duty to say, that in an age and country as much enlightened as this is, such acts of injustice were not to be expected; and in all companies in which the affair has been mentioned, it has been a matter of astonishment. If the parish refuse to return the moneys taken from our society, and continue to tax them to the support of the Congregational minister of Barnstable, we shall be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of publishing the whole to the world, and of taking such other steps as shall appear to be necessary.[2]

A similar letter was sent to the parish in Yarmouth. These were signed by Samuel Stillman as chairman, and illustrate the vigorous manner in which he sought to defend his fellow-Baptists who were still persecuted in Massachusetts. In 1792 Rev. P. P. Roots, a graduate

[1] *Vide* "Mass. Baptist Anniversaries," pp. 132–166, 1893.
[2] Backus, Vol. II., p. 352.

of Dartmouth College and a Congregationalist minister, was baptized into the membership of this church.

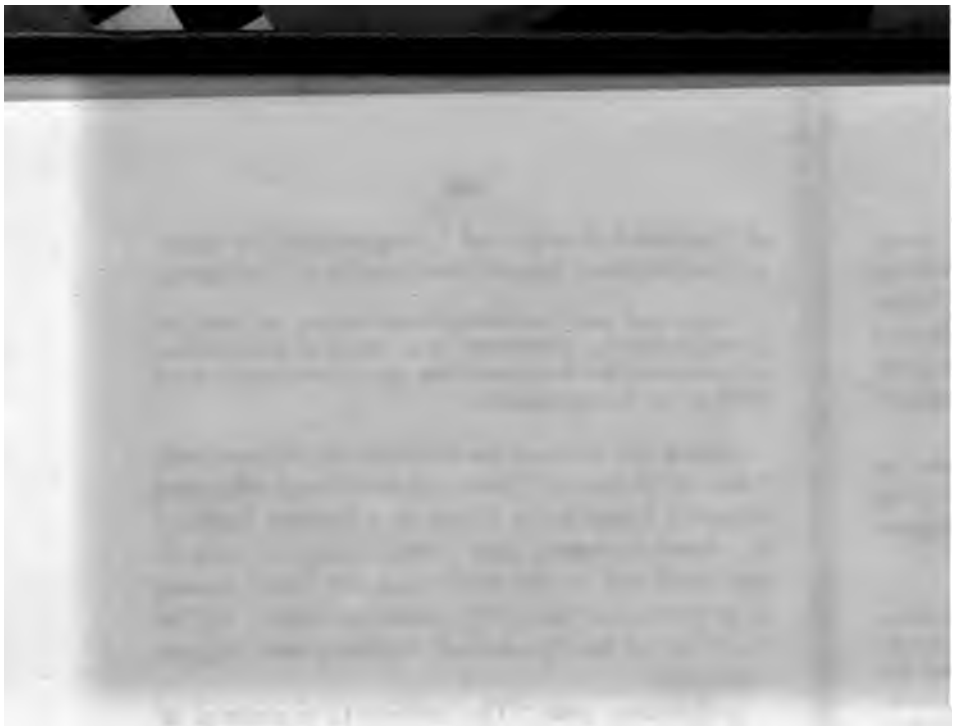
> Having been perplexed about infant baptism, so called, he entered on a serious examination of ye subject & finally became fully convinced, that there was neither precept nor example in the Word of God for such a practice.[1]

Among his letters of recommendation was one from "*Rev M^r^ Judson of Taunton* (who himself afterward became a Baptist), the father of Adoniram Judson." Mr. Roots became a very useful evangelist, both in the North and in the South, and was widely known as an instructive and fervid gospel preacher. He became one of the founders of Madison, now Colgate, University.

In this same year, "The minister in ye name of M^r^ *Jonathan Harris* Merch^t^ presented an elegant pair of plated flagons to them, of which he requested their acceptance."[1] Mr. Harris was an eminent merchant of Boston and a pew proprietor. He lived in the extensive mansion which stood in Pearl Street as late as 1852. These flagons have stood on the communion table and have been in continuous use until January, 1898, when individual communion cups were adopted.

There is no evidence that the church had ever held prayer meetings regularly on a stated evening of the week. There were times when special meetings for prayer were appointed, and there had been occasionally a weekly lecture. Monthly lectures preparatory to the celebration of the Lord's Supper were observed. It had not been the custom of New England churches

[1] "Church Record."



to hold weekly meetings for prayer and conference in which lay members might take part. This church followed the general custom, and the first record of innovation was on Oct. 28, 1793:

> The Church concluded to observe every Monday evening in ye week as an evening of prayer, on account of ye general calamities of ye world, the pestilence at Philadelphia & the declension of religion among us. N. B. It was afterward altered to Wednesday evening.[1]

The pestilence was the yellow fever, which ravaged Philadelphia and New York and caused the utmost alarm throughout the country. This meeting was the beginning of the custom, now observed among us for more than a century, of a midweek service for prayer and conference. The brethren only took part in it, and it was chiefly given up to prayer. Women were not allowed to take any part either in this or in the business meetings.

The letter which the church sent to the Warren Association in 1794 contained this query:

> Whereas we are informed that several churches belonging to this association have applied to the civil power for an act of incorporation, and have obtained it, whereby they have become corporate bodies, vested with civil powers, we ask, is not this conduct inconsistent with ye original principles of Baptist churches? and ought not this association again most pointedly to express their disapprobation of it, especially as it appears to be a growing evil?

This was an extreme insistence upon an absolute separation of Church and State; but when we consider how much our fathers suffered in New England

[1] "Church Record."

from their union, we cannot be surprised at their sensitiveness to any movement which should seem to countenance the ancient evil. When the delegates returned from the Association

> the Church approved of what the association had done relative to ye incorporation of Baptist churches: and hope ye body of churches at their next meeting will pointedly condemn the practice of applying to ye civil power for incorporation.[1]

The property of this church had been held from the beginning in the names of individuals, and by them transmitted in the same manner as private property to some persons whom the church designated. Hence they avoided incorporation under a civil statute. Some embarrassments had arisen under this method. Individuals would occasionally fail to make the proper transfers or testamentary arrangements. The church felt that the principle at stake was of greater consequence than any embarrassments which might arise through this method of private transfer.

In April, 1795, it was voted to have the catechism reprinted and that there be three hundred copies. The children were taught this catechism, and it was the custom of Dr. Stillman, when he made his pastoral calls, to question the children upon it, and also to gather them at the meeting-house at stated times and examine them formally by question and answer. Saturday afternoon was the usual time for such a meeting. His catechising was a solemn and serious affair, and was regarded by the children with great awe.

[1] "Church Record."



The Warren Association was invited to meet with this church in September, 1797. It was the first time that it had met in Boston. Large committees were appointed "to take care of the horses of the messengers to ye association, and to conduct our friends to the places provided for them during their continuance in town."[1] The messengers would of necessity come on horseback or in carriages, and some of them would be two or three days on the journey. All the Baptist churches in New England, that were connected at all with an Association, were embraced in this body. Mr. Stephen S. Nelson, a member of Rev. Isaac Backus' church in Middleborough, came up to Boston to be ordained. This also was a common custom of the times, and served the convenience of the ministers, who were thus saved from long journeys to distant places. Sometimes several men would be ordained at the annual Associational gathering, and this added variety and interest to the meeting. It was found after the Association that a debt of "48 dollars had arisen from keeping of the horses of our brethren who attended the association."[1] This amount was apportioned between this church and the Second Church, according to the number of male members, when it was found "that we have 48 males & they 30."[1] The Second Church was under the pastoral care of Rev. Thomas Baldwin, who settled with them September, 1790, and at whose installation Dr. Stillman preached the sermon. They became very warm friends and hearty co-laborers.

In 1799 the church built a vestry adjoining the

[1] "Church Record."

meeting-house at its southwest corner. Its dimensions were forty-six by nineteen feet. There was already a smaller vestry which had been outgrown by the increasing numbers who attended the mid-week meeting. In April, 1800, "the weekly service which has been attended in the vestry on Wednesday evenings," was transferred to the meeting-house, "on account of the many persons who wish to hear ye word, but cannot find room in ye vestry, which public service will be once a fortnight in our Meeting House, and once a fortnight at M[r] Baldwin's."[1] This alternating service was maintained for some time with much usefulness, and greatly promoted harmony and unity among Baptists of Boston.

Mr. Baldwin was a man of remarkable ability and energy, and was a worthy compeer of Dr. Stillman. He was pastor of the Second Church for thirty-six years, and a great denominational leader. These two men seemed especially raised up of God for that peculiarly critical time in the religious history of Boston. In May, 1800, the church took a collection for the Baptist Education Fund of one hundred and eighty-one dollars, and remained a steadfast friend of the new society. In the same month they agreed "to use spermaceti candles" instead of tallow, at the midweek service. There was ample reason for an afternoon instead of an evening service. The great barnlike meeting-houses had no other lighting at night than from tallow candles, and the dim light, together with the constant care required to keep them in order, were not conducive either to orderly or reverent worship.

[1] "Church Record."

In April, 1801, ten brethren and four sisters, all residing in Charlestown, asked letters from this church to form the First Baptist Church in that town. These were:

John Carter, Silas Niles, David Goodwin, Victor Blair, Solomon Phipps, Richard Holden, Jacob Foster, Oliver Holden, William Arnold, Obadiah White, Abigail Blair, Hannah Kidder, Tabitha Kidder, and Nancy Shepherd.[1]

The church was constituted May 12, and many memories were stirred in the mother church by the happy event.

The Church co[d] not but take notice of ye pleasing providence of God in bringing about this event, that after 136 years, that church which originated in *Charlestown* sho[d] send back such a large number of worthy members to form a new church in the place of their origin.[1]

The friendliness of the different denominations in aiding the new church to build a meeting-house was especially noteworthy, and was a vivid reminder of the changed conditions since the early days of Baptists in that place. Dr. Stillman preached the sermon at the constitution of the church and at the dedication of their house of worship.

[1] "Church Record."

CHAPTER XIII

MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS. THE GREAT REVIVAL. DEATH OF DR. STILLMAN. REV. JOSEPH CLAY. REV. JAMES M. WINCHELL. REV. FRANCIS WAYLAND, JR. MASSACHUSETTS STATE CONVENTION. NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION. REV. C. P. GROSVENOR.





XIII

In the early part of the year 1802, reports concerning the need of missionaries in the newer sections of the country came to the church and greatly stirred it. Some ministers, who had made extensive evangelistic journeys, gave accounts of the destitution, and, in many parts, of the entire absence of gospel privileges, and their pleasing success in preaching in the new settlements. Dr. Stillman had a wide correspondence with these brethren, and naturally they made his house their home when they visited Boston. To a man of his quick sympathies and alert perceptions, to see a need was to plan for its immediate relief. Hence on March 29, 1802,

> The minister read to ye Church proposals for a Baptist Missionary Society. Upon which they voted, that ye minister and deacons be a committee to confer with a committee to be chosen by M^r^ Baldwin's church, upon this business, and to report at the next church meeting.[1]

What consultations were held is now unknown, but the two churches were of one mind in proceeding at once to organize a society. At the next meeting of the church, April 26,

> The missionary business was taken up, and voted, that ye minister consult with M^r^ Baldwin about a circular letter to ye Chhs, that sho^d^ express ye design, and invite them to join in it, and to get subscriptions against the meeting of ye association, as ye most

[1] "Church Record."



eligible plan: ye time being too short to organize a society in May as had been proposed.[1]

The Association did not meet until September, and the delay seemed long. The two ministers, upon further consultation, decided to urge the matter to an immediate conclusion. Hence on

Wednesday 28 the chh was stopped after lecture, and ye missionary business reconsidered. The minister informed ye church that ye Second Baptist church were very anxious to engage in ye business as soon as possible: and as many ministers wo^d be together at ye Gen^l election, it was agreed that we wo^d proceed to send out circular letters immediately.[1]

Accordingly, April 29, 1802, an address was sent out to all Baptist churches in Massachusetts, signed by a committee from the Baptist churches in Boston, viz:

SAMUEL STILLMAN,
THOMAS BALDWIN,
RICHARD SMITH,
DANIEL WILD,
JOHN WAIT,
THOMAS BADGER.

Daniel Wild and John Wait were deacons of this church. It was proposed that a Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society be organized, and that

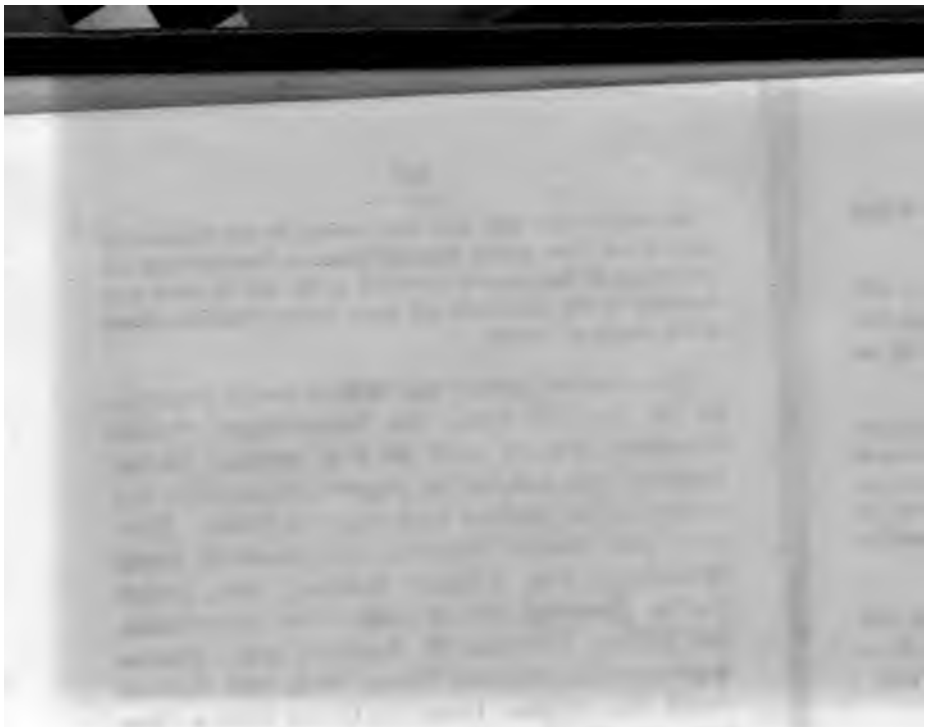
The object of this Society shall be, to furnish occasional preaching, and to promote the knowledge of evangelic truth in the new settlements within these United States: or farther, if circumstances should render it proper.

A constitution was drawn up and sent out for approval. It provided that

[1] "Church Record."

The Society shall hold their first meeting, for the choice of officers, at the First Baptist Meeting House in Boston on the last Wednesday of May next at 9 o'clock A. M. and in every year thereafter, at the same time and place, unless otherwise ordered by the Society or Trustees.

This circular address met with a cordial response, for on May 26, 1802, The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society held its first meeting in our meeting-house, adopted the proposed constitution, and elected twelve trustees to manage its affairs. They were: Rev. Samuel Stillman, Rev. Hezekiah Smith (Haverhill), Rev. Thomas Baldwin, Rev. Joseph Grafton (Newton), Rev. Stephen Gano (Providence), Joel Briggs, Valentine W. Rathbun, Rev. Thomas Waterman (Charlestown), Deacon John Wait, Richard Smith, Col. Stephen Dana, Mr. Oliver Holden (Boston). Dr. Stillman was made chairman and Mr. Waterman secretary. Three missionary evangelists were appointed at the first meeting and sent out to their work immediately. This was the first missionary society among Baptists in the new world, and while its primary aim was to spread the gospel in our own country, and its first missionaries were sent into Maine, New Hampshire, New York, and Canada, yet it provided in its constitution for the wider work of evangelizing the whole world. It did little or no work in Massachusetts itself, and it went outside of the State for some of its trustees, so that at the very beginning its plan was broad and comprehensive. In 1800 fourteen Christian women, some Baptist and some Congregationalist, had formed "The Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes," and raised



the first year, chiefly through systematic penny contributions, about one hundred and fifty dollars. This was the first missionary society known to have been formed in the United States, but it was simply a collecting agency and was undenominational. Let all honor be given to these Christian women of Boston.

The Baptist society soon found its work widening and the opportunities for work almost boundless. This church had a vigorous committee appointed whose business it was to obtain subscriptions and in every way to support the society. Dr. Stillman evidently brought all the details of this new missionary work before his own church, for at the June business meeting (1802) "the minister informed ye Church that M^r *Leland* has declined serving as a missionary: and consequently that some other person must be chosen."[1] This was, I suppose, the celebrated Rev. John Leland, whose wonderful evangelistic tours, both South and North, had been so wonderfully blessed, and the fact that he had already been invited to be a missionary shows the vigor with which the new society began its work. In September, 1803, it began the publishing of "The Missionary Magazine," whose contents consisted of the correspondence of various Baptists with Dr. Stillman, and the letters of the missionaries, giving detailed accounts of their journeys and work. It was published by Manning & Loring, No. 2 Cornhill. They were notable publishers and booksellers. James Loring was an active member of this church, of which he was also a

[1] "Church Record."

deacon. He was a close friend and adviser of his pastor. Dr. Stillman's name does not appear, but the letters run "to his friend" or "his aged friend in Boston."

Thus was launched the society out of which has grown our great home and foreign missionary work. The consuming zeal of Dr. Stillman in this work is very notable, and especially in view of his declining health and advancing years, for as early as 1801 the church voted "that the Church business be transacted on Tuesday evenings hereafter, because the minister is generally indisposed on Mondays, and frequently hindered from attending,"[1] and in November, 1803, "the minister assured the Church that he was not able to go through all ye services incumbent on him by reason of his age, and these attacks on his lungs, especially in ye winter season, and requested that assistance might be granted him."[1]

The meeting-houses were seldom warmed. The First Parish Church of Boston had a stove put into its house in 1773, but it was the first one put into a meeting-house of which anything is known in the commonwealth. It was considered a dangerous innovation, and was followed very slowly. The minister's lungs might well have attacks, "especially in ye winter season," when he preached twice on the Sabbath in a great unwarmed meeting-house all through a New England winter. The church had already proffered assistance, but many of them could not endure to see another man in the beloved minister's place at either of the services on the Lord's Day, and

[1] "Church Record."

there had been delay in accepting the offer; but now aid had become imperatively necessary, and Mr. Lucius Bolles was engaged for one year to assist the minister. He was a graduate of Rhode Island College in 1801, and not long after had placed himself under the theological instruction of Dr. Stillman, who always had one or more such students under his care. He remained about three years, in the intimacy of a son with a father, and was greatly beloved also by the church. He had a long and useful career as a Christian minister. He was twenty-two years pastor of the First Church in Salem, and eighteen years corresponding secretary of The Foreign Missionary Society. Doubtless he gained his first impulses toward the missionary work from his close association with the minister who cherished him so lovingly.

In the fall of 1803 a remarkable work of grace began in the two Baptist churches of Boston. A weekly meeting had been held in the First Church vestry for some time, of which the ministers of the two societies took charge in turn. A great seriousness became manifest, and, without apparent reason for it, the vestry became uncomfortably crowded with solemn people. So great was the throng that the people had to be requested not to remain in the aisles. Baptisms became frequent, and at length even the main audience room proved to be too small for the people. All through the winter the severest storms did not prevent the house from being crowded, even the aisles being filled as far as the pulpit stairs. During the two years that this work continued one hundred and thirty-five persons were baptized into

this church, and a still larger number into the Second Church. This remarkable revival occurred at a time when evangelical religion was at an exceedingly low ebb in Boston. The Unitarian movement was at its height. All the Congregational churches in the town had gone over to Unitarianism, with the exception of the Old South, and its sympathies were so pronounced in the same direction that it appeared to be on the verge of going in company with the others. Its minister, Rev. Dr. Joseph Eckley, was supposed to be a semi-Arian. Its departure from the old faith would leave the orthodox church without an organization in Boston. It was a time of crisis. I quote from Rev. Dr. Wisner's "History of the Old South":

> This congregation [the Old South] in the summer of 1803 was deserted by a considerable portion of the younger class of its members. The church was diminishing in numbers. All the religious interests of the society were visibly and rapidly declining. Thus with more fearful emphasis than ever before, the enemy was coming in like a flood. And now again did the Spirit of the Lord lift up a standard against him. In the fall of 1803, God was pleased to pour out his Spirit on the Baptist churches then in this city, and grant them a precious revival of religion which continued with power above a year. Members of this and other Congregational churches frequented the meetings of the Baptists during this season of special religious attention. Dr. Joseph Eckley (the then pastor of the Old South) and Drs. Stillman and Baldwin had before been in the habit of attending each other's preparatory lectures. By this means Dr. Eckley was brought into the midst of the revival. The good man's heart became warmed. He attended other meetings of the Baptists besides their preparatory lectures, and took part in them in exhortation and prayer. Thus a reviving influence was brought into this congregation which had, for a time, to struggle for



existence, but has, by the grace of God, continued even until now (1830), and rendered this again a flourishing vine.

The Baptist preaching was spiritual, searching, and evangelical. It was in nowise affected by the surrounding defections from the faith. It may be said with truth that, under God, the Baptists were the means of preserving alive orthodox Congregationalism in Boston, for the Old South having been thus spiritually quickened, through its minister, settled into the old faith, and became the mother of the new Congregational churches. Dr. Eckley endeavored at once to interest some of his own brethren, and proposed a public lecture in his church in the interests of a spiritual revival. This led to a serious opposition from many members in the congregation, and the agitation lasted about four years. But finally, in 1808, "A Society for Religious Improvement" was formed by eight of his brethren, and this led to the "Tuesday Evening meeting in which for a time there was but one brother of the church who felt sufficient confidence to lead in prayer, and which for a time encountered reproaches and oppositions which to us at the present day seem almost incredible."[1] During all the struggles of the evangelical faith with the new forms of religious teaching which had led all the Boston Puritan churches astray from the old paths, the two Baptist pastors stood uncompromisingly for the old faith. They encouraged Dr. Eckley to abide in the same way. It is not possible to overestimate the value of these two Baptist churches, and their noble

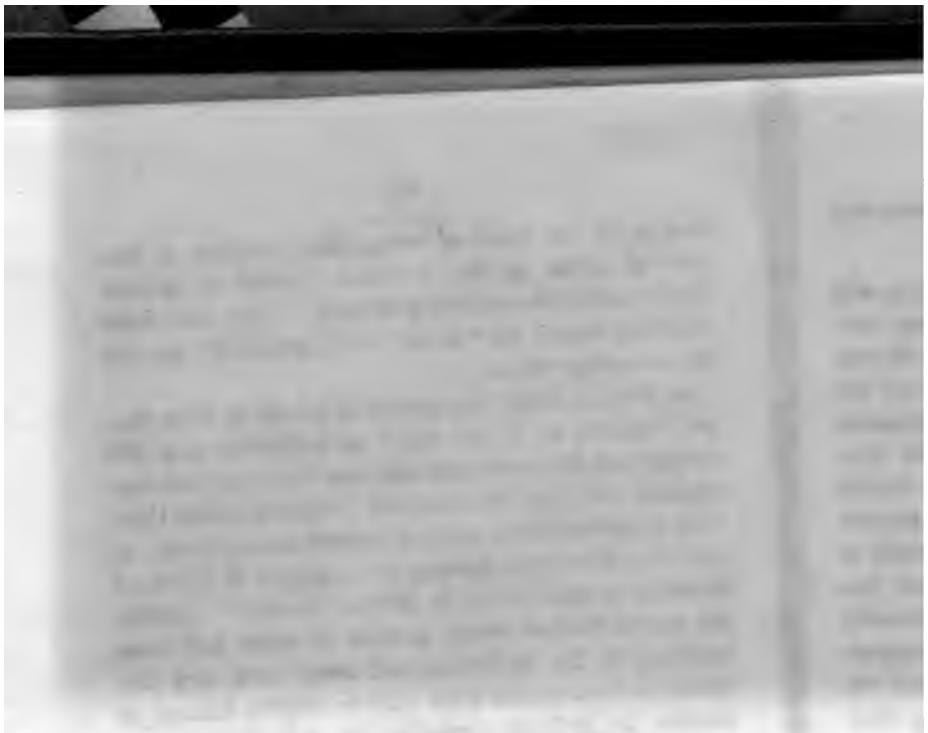
[1] Winser, "History of Old South Church," pp. 46, 47.

leaders, to the cause of evangelical religion at that time of crisis in the spiritual history of Boston. Their work was manifestly of God. They were providentially raised up "to set up a standard" against the incoming errors.

In August, 1805, "ye people of colour at West Boston" desired to be set apart as a church, and this church sent its pastor and deacons "to attend on that occasion, and that the delegates plainly dissuade them from ye admission of white members among them: as they may ultimately become the majority & defeat ye intention of their being an *African* church."[1] During the recent revival many persons of color had been baptized by Dr. Stillman, and these were now dismissed to become the First African Baptist Church of Boston. Dr. Stillman preached the ordination sermon of their pastor, Rev. Thomas Paul. This new church proceeded to erect a meeting-house in a court off from Belknap Street. Cato Gardiner, a native of Africa, who had been baptized by Dr. Stillman and had been a member of the First Church for many years, opened a subscription and raised more than fifteen hundred dollars toward the house. Some additional subscriptions enabled them to build the first meeting-house for Negroes in Boston. A marble tablet was put up in their meeting-house in honor of Cato.

In the year 1806 the church made a large subscription toward a fund for translating the holy Scriptures into the Asiatic languages. They had become interested in the work of Carey, Marshman, and the English brethren, and gave this practical expression of

[1] "Church Record."



their interest in foreign missions. It helped also to prepare the way for the organization, a little later, of a distinctively American Baptist foreign missionary work. In the latter part of 1806, Dr. Stillman became convinced that he had not long to live, and was exceedingly desirous that the church should settle a colleague, who should assume the full pastorate after his decease. In October the church gave a unanimous call to Rev. Joseph Clay (commonly called Judge Clay), of Savannah, Georgia. He was a native of Georgia and a graduate of Princeton in 1784, where he took the highest honors of his class. He became a lawyer of distinction, and for some years was United States District Judge for Georgia. In 1803 he made a public profession of religion and shortly thereafter began to preach. He was ordained as an assistant pastor to the Rev. Dr. Holcombe in the First Baptist Church of Savannah. In 1806 he made a preaching tour of New England and was heard with special satisfaction by this church. Both Dr. Stillman and his people were delighted with him, so that all hearts turned toward him as a colleague for the aged minister. An invitation was extended and sent by Dr. Stillman's own hand to him. He had often said, "When you are provided for I can die in peace." His desire was gratified, for Mr. Clay accepted the call, but before he could reach Boston the beloved Stillman had passed away. The following detailed account is from the Church Records:

Dr. Stillman died March 12. 1807 at 40 minutes after 12 o'clock in the morning of that day: having been dangerously ill about 12 or 13 hours before. He was seized with a stroke of the palsy at

about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. It was first discovered by a little alteration in his speech. He gradually became more indisposed, but was able at two o'clock to write a billet to his physician, requesting his immediate attendance. His physician prescribed an emetic; and after its operation he was so much exhausted as hardly to be able to speak. Dr Baldwin was immediately called, who, on noticing his critical situation, observed to him that he hoped he would have comfort in the everlasting love of God. He replied, "I desire to have no will of my own: Gods government is infinitely perfect." He spoke not distinctly after this: but laid as in a slumber till 20 minutes before one o'clock the next morning, when his holy soul was dismissed from its frail tabernacle, and entered the house not made with hands, there to behold the face of that Divine Redeemer whose Gospel he delighted to preach.

The customs of the time are set forth in the funeral service:

In the public exercises on the Monday after the Thursday of Dr Stillmans death, the corpse was carried into the First Baptist Meeting house.—Rev M^{r} Grafton made the first prayer: D^{r} Baldwin preached the funeral sermon: and the Rev^{d} Elisha Williams made the concluding prayer. Funeral music was performed on the occasion, and the meeting-house (viz. the pulpit and singers seat, and the minister's pew) dressed in mourning for seven weeks. The pall bearers at the funeral were Rev D^{r} Lathrop, D^{r} Eckley, D^{r} Morse, Rev M^{r} Grafton, Rev^{d} Elisha Williams, and Rev M^{r} Mervin methodist minister. Order of Funeral Procession 1. all the Males of the congregation, youngest first, three abreast. 2. all the females of do. do. 3. singing society, same order. 4. members of the church, females first. 5. Committee of arrangements. 6. Corpse. 7. mourners. 8. Clergy. 9. Gentlemen of distinction. 10. D^{r} Baldwins Church and Congregation. 11. Rev M^{r} Colliers. do. 12. Neighbors and citizens. The procession formed in the North Church and proceeded to the 1st Baptist Meeting House. The lower wall and side-pews were for the society, the females on the right and the males on the left. The youngest took the first



pews and proceeded till all were filled. The broad aisle pews were for the mourners, ministers, strangers, & etc, after service the procession formed in the same order, and proceeded up Richmond street through Middle, Hanover, and Court Streets. through Cornhill, up School street, to the Granary burying ground, where the body was deposited in the deceased's tomb. Capt Daniel Badger, Mr Aaron Richardson and Andrew Johannot were appointed Marshalls. The Church and Congregation wore a black crape on the left arm below the elbows, (the males)—the females wore black bonnets—for six weeks on Lords Days. The shops and stores of many members of the Society were closed on the afternoon of the funeral. In fact, the town seemed in mourning.

The pew proprietors "voted a special tax of $450. on the pews to defray the expense of the funeral."[1]

All this is a graphic picture of the funeral honors paid to a good man almost a hundred years ago. He was a man of slight form, weighing less than a hundred pounds. "The glow of his affection,—the fervor of his devotion,—the power of his elocution,—the tenderness of his feelings, and the frankness of his disposition, combined with his affability and erudition to render him one of the most agreeable and distinguished men of his age."[2] He was alert and graceful in his movements. He was always the polite and attentive Christian gentleman. He was a diligent pastor and student. He was an ardent patriot. No pulpit orator was heard with greater delight in the stormy times preceding the Revolution. He deemed it his duty to preach upon the political questions which agitated the people, and spoke with no compromising voice. He was a born leader of men. He was greatly sought after by distinguished

[1] "Proprietors' Record." [2] Winchell, "Hist. Discourses," p. 30.

strangers who visited Boston. The elder President Adams, General Knox, and Governor John Hancock were admirers, and often listened to his sermons. Governor Hancock in his later years had a pew in his meeting-house. Dr. Stillman was deeply interested in philanthropies and was officially connected with the Massachusetts Humane Society, The Charitable Fire Society, Boston Dispensary, Boston Female Asylum, etc.

The great work of his life, apart from his immediate ministry in this church, was the decisive part which he took in the founding of Brown University, of the Warren Association, of the Baptist Ministerial Education Society, and of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, which finally grew into the Home and Foreign Missionary Societies. These were great and far-seeing endeavors, and mark Dr. Stillman as a man of large and noble mold. The range of his Christian sympathies was broad, his spirit was catholic, and his labors unceasing. He had a sensitive physical organism, and sometimes suffered from depression of spirit. The following instance is related by Dr. Neale:

One Sunday morning he preached, as he thought, a poor sermon. It is very likely that it was so, for ministers sometimes do such things, but they have different ways of meeting the humiliation. Some put on a bold face, and pretend to care nothing about it; some look dignified as if they had said something solemn and deep; others comfort themselves with the thought that they will do better next time; but Dr. Stillman was so mortified with his failure that he could not eat his dinner and was sick in bed. "Jephthah,"[1] he faintly said, "I shall not be able to

[1] Dr. Stillman's Negro body servant.

preach this afternoon. You must see the deacons and ask them to get some other minister to supply my pulpit, Mr. Chauncy, Mr. Kirkland, or Mr. Eckly." Jephthah, who understood the case perfectly, said, very respectfully, "He would go. Dr. Stillman ought to have rest, dear man; but I feel bad for the people; they will be disappointed, but folks is queer; they doesn't want to hear anybody else. I hearn Mrs. Smith say this morning what a beautiful sermon the doctor preached. But I'll tell the deacons Massa Stillman is wearin' hisself out." "You needn't go," said the doctor, brightening up. "I feel better. Brush my boots, Jephthah, and I'll try to preach myself." He went into the pulpit, and never preached more powerfully or eloquently than he did that afternoon.

He was a man of extremely delicate constitution, but outlived all his contemporaries in the ministry in Boston. Such a man was a gift of commanding power to Baptists, to evangelical religion, and to the Boston which he loved. A volume of his sermons was published after his death by the deacons. Many sermons on special occasions are also printed.[1] He received into the church five hundred and nineteen new members.

In June, 1807, Rev. Joseph Clay began his ministry under the most favorable auspices. His salary "was fixed at $1800 per year, payable quarterly, including house rent and wood."[2] On his first Sunday "he preached three sermons from this text, for I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified."[3] In August he was installed by a council of Baptist churches, viz: Reading, Newton, Beverly, Danvers, Charlestown, Salem,

[1] See Boston Public Library. [2] "Proprietors' Record." [3] "Church Record."

Second and Third Boston, First Providence. Mr. Clay preached the sermon and Dr. Baldwin gave the hand of fellowship. This was the first time in the history of this church that none but Baptist churches were invited to participate in installing its pastor. This may have been at the particular desire of Mr. Clay, who being a Southern Baptist might have held somewhat stricter views than his predecessors. He gave promise at once by his learning, his eloquence, and his devoutness, of great usefulness in the community, and the church was very happy in the new relation. But unhappily dissensions arose over some cases of discipline, and especially did a certain Mr. E. L. Boyd become a center of disturbance and contention throughout the whole first year. Special meetings for prayer were held "for the Church in its present difficulties and distractions."[1]

Although Mr. Clay was a man of learning and of singular eloquence, graceful in manners, generous in deeds, and a most genial Christian gentleman, he was nevertheless soon met on all sides by eulogiums of Dr. Stillman, and these were turned into disparagements of the present minister. The marked personality of the old pastor and his boundless influence had cast a spell over the church which it was difficult to break. Under this strain the minister's health became poor. Cases of discipline multiplied, and especially from among the numerous additions during the great revival. The spirit of dissension and evil seemed to run riot in the church. Additions became few. Comparisons and criticisms were many. The

[1] "Church Record."

minister was finally compelled to go South for his health in November, 1808, and in the spring of 1809 proposed that he be released from his office. His request was not acted on immediately, but after conclusive evidence that he would not be able to resume his ministry in Boston, and because of the distracted state of the church, in October they voted "that he be affectionately dismissed from the pastoral charge of this Church."[1] His ministry, which had lasted less than two years, left the church "in a low condition." He had had to cope with very unusual difficulties, and it is not surprising that the flattering hopes of his beginnings were not realized. His health steadily declined, and he died in January, 1811, and was buried in Georgia.

June 16, 1809, the church elected Deacon James Loring church clerk. It had been the custom for the minister to act as the clerk. All the records up to this time are in the handwriting of the successive pastors, but with one brief exception that custom has never been resumed. The church passed through much trial, cases of discipline multiplied, counsels were divided, and they remained pastorless about five years. Dr. Baldwin sought to aid them in securing a pastor, and proved a loyal friend in this trying time. The country was now passing through great distractions. Political agitation was intense, the war with Great Britain kept the people in a state of tension, and religion seemed to decline. The number of members in August, 1812, was two hundred and twenty-three.

An effort was made to secure as their minister the

[1] "Church Record."

distinguished Rev. Andrew Broaddus, of Virginia, but he declined the invitation. A similar effort with Rev. W. B. Johnson, of South Carolina, also failed. In September, 1812, the church heard very favorable reports concerning Mr. James M. Winchell, who had just graduated from Brown University. He was invited to preach for them, but did not at once respond to their call. Meanwhile Mr. Elon Galusha was invited to preach for them and spent several Sundays with them. He was a son of the governor of Vermont, and afterward became distinguished as a minister in New York State, but for some reason the church did not give him a call, although many desired him as pastor. Members began to withdraw to unite with other churches. Thirty-six left at one time to unite with the Third Church, under the pastoral care of Rev. Daniel Sharp. Meetings were appointed to pray for guidance in regard to a pastor, and hearts began to turn again to Mr. Winchell. In December, 1813, he was invited to become the pastor. In January the proprietors of pews concurred by a vote of twenty-eight to fourteen, and fixed the salary at one thousand dollars. (In 1816 it was raised to twelve hundred dollars.) This call was notable as being the first time that the sisters were allowed to express by vote their opinion. The brethren voted, and when an opportunity was given, "all the sisters rose in approbation of this vote."[1] In March, 1814, Mr. Winchell accepted the call, yet with much hesitation on account of "their long trials" and "their afflicted state." The situation was far from promising or hopeful. He was installed March 30, by a

[1] "Church Record."

large council. Rev. Dr. Baldwin preached the sermon. Rev. Stephen Gano, of Providence, gave the charge, and Rev. Lucius Bolles, of Salem, gave the hand of fellowship. In June two persons came forward for baptism, being the first who had offered themselves in more than two years, and the church was greatly cheered by the auspicious token. His administration of the church affairs was wise and conciliatory. Peace and a quiet activity soon appeared. Prosperity followed harmony of counsel. Mr. Winchell's amiable disposition, his cultivated mind, his agreeable manners, his fervent piety, and his singular discretion, united to make him an acceptable guest in every social circle. He was a man of scholarly tastes and habits, and was much sought after by persons of literary attainments. His gracious and winsome personality, and the charm of his deeply spiritual life, made him singularly attractive to people of every class. His whole ministry was marked by unity and progress.

Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1816, a society was organized and called "The Sabbath School Society of the First Baptist Church and Congregation for the Instruction of Indigent Boys." They were to be instructed "in reading and spelling," and were to be "provided with books and Clothing." Within a year the range of instruction was increased, and "the instructors are to teach the children, spelling, reading, the catechism & the doctrines & duties of the christian Religion."[1] This school was not intended for boys from families of the church, but for neglected and indigent boys.

[1] "Sunday-school Record."

The officers and instructors were all men, and it was their duty to take these boys to the public worship on Lord's Days and sit with them (usually in the gallery) to preserve order.[1] This school became very popular and soon reported one hundred and twenty-five boys in attendance.

In 1818 the bass viol was introduced into the choir for use in worship. A singing society had been organized in 1814, and the singers usually met one evening in the week, and also before the services, to practise the tunes. They carefully rehearsed Mear, China, Wyndham, Wantage, Jourdan, Silver Street, Oporto, Windsor, Plympton, St. Asaphs, etc., but seldom ventured upon an anthem, except on special occasions. The introduction of the bass viol was not without some opposition, but it soon became a regular accompaniment of the choir. Everywhere at the end of the last century and the beginning of this, there were commotions in churches over the introduction of the bass viol. "A venerable and hitherto decorous old deacon of Roxbury not only left the church when the hated bass viol began its accompanying notes, but he stood for a long time outside the church door stridently 'caterwauling' at the top of his lungs. When expostulated with for this unseemly and unchristianlike annoyance he explained that he 'was only mocking the banjo.'"[2] One clergyman announced that "we will now sing and fiddle the forty-fifth Psalm,"[2] and another deplored that "now we have only catgut and resin religion."[2] The singers in this

[1] For a full account of the Sunday-school see Chap. XV.

[2] Mrs. Earle, "Sabbath in Puritan New England," p. 226.

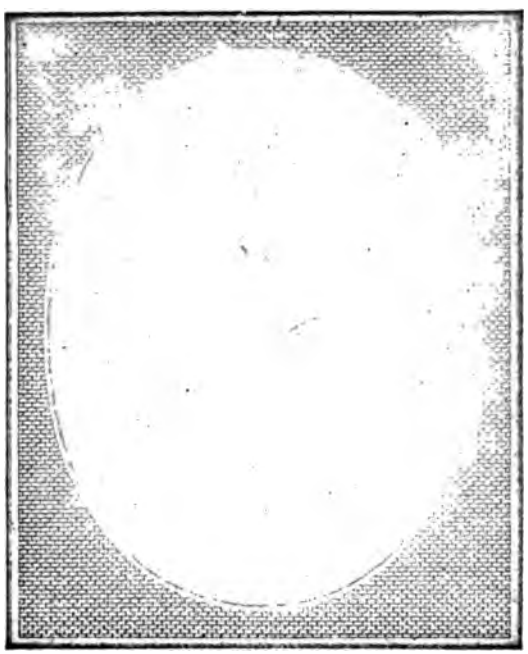
church sat apart, first "in the singers seats," and afterward in the gallery, and had not only the bass viol, but the "fiddle, the flute, and the clarionet" to assist them. "The singing Society" was a very vigorous organization, and was long presided over by Daniel Badger.[1]

In April, 1818, Mr. Winchell preached two historical discourses, which were printed, giving the history of the church up to that time. It was the first and last attempt, until now, to give anything like an accurate statement of the course of historic events. They were necessarily brief, but are unusually reliable. In 1819 "The penitent Female Refuge was commenced by the laudable exertions and self-denying labors of brother Edmund Parsons of this Church."[2] He was baptized in 1816. The Refuge is still in active usefulness. In June, 1819, the minister brought forward a plan to provide a permanent fund for the care of the poor of the church. The interest only of this fund was to be used. The plan was adopted, and moneys were raised by subscription. In November Mrs. Lydia Sparhawk died and left to the church,

> the sum of one thousand dollars, the interest of which is to be appropriated for the benefit of the poor of the Church, and five hundred dollars to the Sunday School of this Church, the interest of which is to be appropriated for the support of the said school, also fifteen hundred dollars to our pastor, Rev Mr Winchell.[2]

"The Sparhawk Fund" is still doing its beneficent work for the poor and for the Sunday-school, and perpetuates the memory of the donor as a generous member of this church.

[1] *Vide* "Record of Singing Society." [2] "Church Record."



Rev. James Manning Winchell, A. M.
Minister, 1814–1820.

In this year Mr. Winchell issued the compilation of hymns and psalms known as "Winchell's Watts." It came into immediate public favor. It contained the six hundred and eighty-seven hymns and psalms of "Dr. Watts' Collection," and a supplement of three hundred and twenty-seven others by various authors. It has also in addition "eighty hymns by Dr. Watts not before in use in this country." It quickly supplanted "Rippon's Collection," which had been widely used. It contained no tunes. Its arrangement showed the literary taste and skill of the pastor, as well as his fervently devout mind. It was long and lovingly used by the Baptist churches in New England.

In July, 1819, in the midst of the most pleasing prospects of a useful ministry of years, the pastor was stricken with consumption, and all efforts to arrest its progress were of no avail. He was preparing to journey to a milder climate when he died, Feb. 22, 1820. He had been pastor six years. Rev. Dr. Baldwin preached the funeral service, and his body was laid away in the tomb of Deacon Prince Snow, Jr., in the North burying ground.

He was born in Northeast, New York, in 1791, graduated from Brown University in 1812, after which he preached more than a year at Bristol, R. I., when he became pastor of this church. He was, therefore, not twenty-nine years old when he ceased from his labors. One who knew him well says: "Young Winchell's manner in the pulpit approached more nearly to that of Summerfield—that youthful prodigy of loveliness—than any other that I have ever witnessed. There was the same winning simplicity and

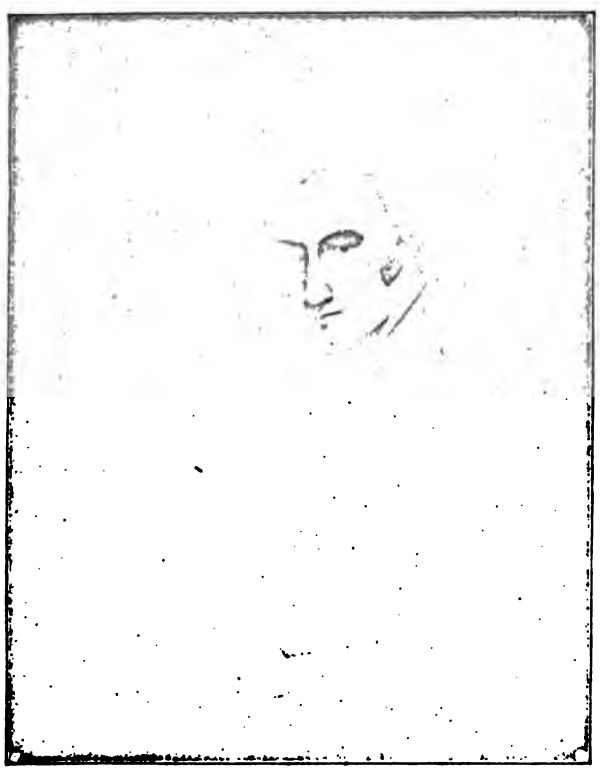


naturalness in the one as in the other." He was below the medium size, was vivacious and urbane. He was fond of music and sang with a sweet voice. He had been during nearly the whole of his pastorate here one of the editors of the Missionary Magazine. His early death was a great loss to the church, which within fourteen years had in this way lost three pastors. Eighty-four new members were received during this pastorate, and the pastor's death closed a life of varied promise and rare usefulness.

Rev. Joseph Elliot, of Vermont, preached so acceptably to the church that in July they gave him a call to become the pastor. He hesitated long, but finally declined. They then made overtures to Rev. Elon Galusha, of Whitesborough, N. Y. He preached for them several Sundays, and a call was given him at "a salary of 1200 dollars and 100 dollars for the removal of his family."[1] He had given them encouragement that he would accept, but finally declined because "of the unwillingness of the brethren in his neighborhood for his removal."[2] Whitesborough was an insignificant village, but the ardent entreaties of his friends persuaded him to decline what seemed the great opportunity of his life. Boston at that time was the foremost town in the United States, and offered rare opportunities for influence and usefulness.

In January, 1821, "the clerk mentioned to the church the information he had received respecting a young preacher, brother Francis Wayland, Jun. now a tutor in Union College, Schenectady N. Y. and who

[1] "Proprietors' Record." [2] "Church Record."



FRANCIS WAYLAND, JR., D. D.
Minister, 1821-1826.

had studied at Andover one year under Professor Stuart."[1] President Nott and Professor Stuart "expressed their favorable opinion of him."[1] Rev. B. B. Wisner, of the Old South Church, knew him well and spoke warmly of him to the officers of the church. They voted to ask him "to make us a friendly visit and preach for us eight or ten weeks."[1] He came and preached four Sabbaths in April, and won the hearts of many of the people. Francis Wayland, Jr., the son of a Baptist minister, was born in New York City, in 1796. He graduated from Union College at the age of seventeen, and began the study of medicine, which he pursued during the next three years. He was converted in the last year of his medical studies, and at once felt called to preach the gospel. He put himself under the instruction of the celebrated Prof. Moses Stuart, of Andover, but at the end of a year became a tutor in Union College, where he remained four years. He was a man of extraordinary force of character, of great moral sagacity, of fine culture, and of a striking personality. He was a master of thought and rhetorical expression. He became one of the greatest and most usefully influential men whom this country has produced. He was now twenty-five years old, and was already impressing men with those commanding powers of mind and character which afterward made him so distinguished as the eminent president of Brown University. The call to him, which the church extended in May, 1821, was by no means unanimous. The vote was fifteen for to ten against. The opposition desired a minister of

[1] "Church Record."

more popular pulpit gifts. The majority included the more substantial and influential members of the church. The concurrent vote of the Pew Proprietors was seventeen in the affirmative and fifteen in the negative, and was determined by the casting vote of the moderator, Deacon James Loring, always the devoted friend of the young pastor. He was the famous publisher and bookseller, and was one of the founders of "The Watchman." In the call they say:

> We request you to consider that in the large and populous town of Boston, it is greatly important that there should be an accession of those labourers in the gospel ministry whose weight of character, ability, and piety, may contribute to the respectability of evangelical doctrine: and this is rendered the more necessary because in this place corrupt theological opinions are defended by men of high standing in society, and of distinguished talents and science.[1]

In their letter to the Pew Proprietors they speak of him as one "whose eminent character for literature, talents, and piety is undoubted."

President Nott and Professor Stuart urged him to accept on broader grounds than the necessities of a single church. The latter wrote: "The cause here absolutely and imperiously demands a man like you, who has depth of exegetical lore, who can meet the Unitarians on ground where he is unlikely to feel his inferiority, or to be put to the blush. Besides, Providence College must have such trustees, or it is ruined forever. Radical changes must be made in order to save it. You want more weight, more literature here, to do this."

[1] "Church Record."

After much hesitancy, Mr. Wayland accepted the call in June in a letter which is wholly characteristic of the imperious sense of duty which always guided him. Great preparations were made for the ordaining council which was the largest and most notable ever convened in the church. It met August 21, 1821. Thirty-seven ministers, besides lay delegates, were invited. Among them were men so distinguished as President Nott, President Messer, Moses Stuart, Leonard Woods, John Codman, Benjamin B. Wisner, Thomas Baldwin, Stephen Gano, Daniel Sharp, Henry J. Ripley, David Benedict, etc.

The council met early in the day at the house of Deacon Prince Snow, Jr., where the examination of the candidate took place. At eleven o'clock the committee of arrangements, heading the procession in which the council walked to the meeting-house, ushered them in with great state. Eight marshals and four constables had charge of the congregation. The pews were assigned carefully to the different classes of people. Eight hundred programmes were distributed. When the council walked down the main aisle, the whole audience arose and stood until the council was seated. An ordination was an event in the former days. Dr. Daniel Sharp preached the sermon, Rev. Francis Wayland, Sr., made the ordaining prayer, Dr. Baldwin gave the charge, Dr. Bolles extended the hand of fellowship, Revs. William Gammel and Joseph Grafton also took part. No churches except Baptist were invited to this council. Individuals not Baptists did sit in the council, but Baptists only took part in the ordination. After the



ordination the ministers who participated in the public service sat down together at dinner at a private house. For all the other invited guests, a public dinner was provided at a tavern, where eighty guests sat down together. The marshals, constables, and singers were also provided with a dinner. The caterer charged in his bill to the church "one dollar apiece for each guest for the lemonades, wines, and liquors furnished,"[1] which sufficiently shows the customs of the time. Mr. Wayland's "salary was $1200 to be paid in monthly installments."

The minority that had opposed his call soon showed a mean spirit. Some of them on Sundays, in a very ostentatious manner, hired a coach to take them to hear another minister preach. When their conduct was brought before the church and discipline was proposed, the pastor opposed it, and offered instead to pay part of the expense of the coach. When one of them came to the pastor's study to assure him that he was not edified under his preaching, Mr. Wayland gave him unexpected sympathy, and told him that he should feel the same under similar circumstances. The opposition soon ceased under this mollifying treatment on the pastor's part. He boarded for the first two years in the family of Dr. Baldwin, and found in him a kind and sagacious counselor.

The evening of Sunday, Oct. 26, 1823, is memorable in our history. It was stormy and cold. A northeast wind chilled all whose duty called them out of doors. It was singularly cheerless in the great meeting-house for the little group of people who

[1] *Vide*, Bill in Church Archives.

braved the storm to attend the annual meeting of the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of Boston. It had been the custom for the three churches to unite in this service and to have a sermon preached. The preacher on this occasion was Mr. Wayland. He also was chilled by the cold of the unwarmed house, and wore his greatcoat buttoned up throughout the meeting. The whole atmosphere was depressing. But the preacher was singularly fitted for his task. His missionary editorship and his broad views of Christian duty gave him ample qualifications for uttering a missionary sermon. Foreign missions had been vehemently attacked, even by Christian ministers. The literary world sneered at them. East India merchants begged that missionaries might not be permitted to disturb the trade of the Orient. Statesmen opposed, lest the propagation of Christianity should make their control of heathen countries more difficult. Missions were regarded as simply a narrow and annoying propaganda. The sermon, "On the Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise," lifted the whole missionary endeavor into a new plane of thought and brought it into the realm of Christian statesmanship. It was revolutionary. No one guessed that the sermon preached on that raw October night to a handful of people was to be heard around the world and give a new and powerful impetus to foreign missions.

The sermon seemed an entire failure. The preacher himself was greatly discouraged by the meeting and the ineffectiveness of the sermon. On Monday he flung himself on the sofa in the home of Rev. Dr. Wisner and said in disheartenment: "It was a com-

plete failure. It fell perfectly dead." He was mistaken. There were a few discerning hearers who understood what that sermon meant. Among them was Deacon James Loring, the publisher, who requested it for publication. The impression on the public both in America and in Europe was profound. It was translated into Continental languages, and cheered and stimulated the friends of missions everywhere. It greatly revived missionary interest. It was recognized as the work of a master mind. Eighteen months later he preached two sermons on "The Duties of an American Citizen," which attracted wide attention. These sermons gave him a reputation as a man of no ordinary intellectual power and introduced him to a world-wide constituency. The conversion to Baptist views and the missionary appeal of Rev. Adoniram Judson were the first great impulse to American Baptists to engage in foreign missions. The sermon of Mr. Wayland was the second, and came at a providential time.

In July, 1824, the proposed constitution of the Massachusetts Baptist State Convention was read to the church and approved. Delegates were elected to act in its organization. In August they voted "that the brethren who may be chosen in different associations to meet as a State Convention be invited to convene at the First Baptist Meeting House in Boston on the last Wednesday in October."[1] Mr. Wayland had been appointed associate editor of the "Missionary Magazine" in 1823, and soon after became the sole editor, in which capacity he wrote a series of

[1] "Church Record."

articles advocating the federation of the Associations in a State Convention. He urged that if it were possible for churches to unite in an Association, it was equally possible for Associations to unite in a State Convention. The old distrust of any organization which united churches, and which might seem in any way to delegate or to centralize authority in any body outside of the local congregation, still remained among Baptists. Hence, when the call was sent out for the organization of a Massachusetts Baptist State Convention, only six out of the nine Associations invited responded and sent delegates. They met in the meeting-house of the First Baptist Church in Boston, Nov. 10, 1824, and organized by adopting a constitution and electing Rev. Lucius Bolles president and Rev. Francis Wayland, Jr., secretary. The vigorous articles of Mr. Wayland and his insistent advocacy of such a federation of Associations were among the prime causes which led to the organization of the Convention, and it was fitting that it should have its birth in our meeting-house.

On May 25, 1825, an influential company of ministers and laymen assembled in the vestry of our meeting-house to consider the establishment of a theological institution.[1] A Board of trustees was elected, of which Mr. Wayland was a corporate member and the first secretary. His experience as an educator, his natural fondness for that work, and his sense of its importance, led him to take an active part in the present undertaking. It was at first hoped that the recently founded schools at Hamilton, Waterville, and

[1] *Vide*, "Watchman," June 30, 1826.

shington might be combined in one, at least for logical instruction.[1] This hope was not realized. school opened Nov. 28, 1825, at Newton Center, Rev. Irah Chase as its first instructor. Decem- 2, Mr. Wayland was elected Professor of Pastoral ology, but for some unknown reason did not ac- the position. It is easy to guess that it might e been the lack of funds for his support. The wton Theological institution thus had its birth in meeting-house.

In 1825 the proprietors of pews and the church were stirred on the subject of a new house of worship in a new location. A subscription of more than fifteen thousand dollars was made. The church had worshiped on the same site for one hundred and forty-five years, but changes in the town had rendered it growingly undesirable to remain. Conservative people opposed any change, and this, together with the difficulty of agreeing upon a suitable location, finally caused a postponement of removal. This delay only added to the difficulties already weighing upon the pastor and imperiled the future of the church.

In August, 1826, Mr. Wayland offered his resignation as pastor, in a frank, manly, and tender letter, of which the following are extracts:

> It cannot, however, Brethren, have escaped your notice that my success has, for some time past, been much less than you had a right to expect. It has indeed been such as seemed to indicate that Providence designed me for some other field of labor, and after prayerfully reflecting upon the subject, such is the conclusion to which I have ultimately arrived. This conviction is further

[1] *Vide*, "Watchman," June 25, 1825.

> strengthened by the fact that at this time another sphere of usefulness has been presented before me, which in the present circumstances of the case, I feel it my duty to occupy.

He then speaks of his warm attachment to the church and their kindness to him and declares,

> that nothing less than what seemed to me an imperious call of duty, would lead me to retire from a situation combining in so high a degree everything which could render this life desirable.

He had just received notification of his election to the "Professorship of Mathematics and Natural History in Union College," and his heart turned toward that work. The church responded in a very tender and flattering letter, and tried to dissuade him. Their efforts were in vain. He closed his work in September, but had scarcely begun his work at Schenectady, when he was chosen president of Brown University (December, 1826), in which office he served with great distinction until 1855, a period of twenty-eight years. He died in Providence, in 1865. Speaking long afterward of his resignation, he said:

> When I resigned my place, it was a matter of great surprise, and, I believe, of sincere pain to my people. I found that they loved me much better than I had supposed: indeed, had I known, before I was pledged, how sincerely they were attached to me, I think I should never have left them.[1]

His ministry of five years in this church was marked, after the first year, by harmony. The church did not grow in numbers, nor, especially, in efficiency. It was smaller at the end than at the beginning of his

[1] "Wayland's Memoirs," by his sons, Vol. I., p. 201



rk. Doubtless one reason was that the beginning the removal of families from the North End to ver sections of the town had commenced. He de an impression of "commanding intellect" and methodical and assiduous devotion to his work, did not seem able to command the full measure pastoral success. This was a source of constant tress of mind to him. He had arrested the atten- n of thoughtful men on both sides of the Atlantic, d there were many discerning minds in Boston that cognized his superlative ability. But a wise Provi- ence was assuredly guiding him to his great life- work, where his peculiar ability would have freer play than in a pastorate.

In 1826 the Pew Proprietors voted "that our beloved pastor Rev Francis Wayland Jr. be requested to sit for his portrait." It was painted by Frothingham, in Boston. The Rev. Dr. Baron Stow says: "His proportions and attitudes as I first saw him are truly represented in the portrait possessed by the First Baptist Church in this city." He left the church with a membership of one hundred and ninety-nine. He had received into the church thirty-six new members.

Mr. Wayland had three notable deacons who were his wise counselors: James Loring, the publisher and the founder of "The Watchman"; Prince Snow, "tall, stately, and straight as an arrow as he walked" (he was the father of Dr. Snow, the author of the history of Boston); John Sullivan, a West Indian merchant, and a profoundly conscientious man. A sermon of his pastor so stirred Deacon Sullivan that he ordered

all the rum stored in his warehouses poured out into Commercial Street. He became a leader in temperance reform. It is related of him that on a day in June he hired the town crier to ring his bell before all the schoolhouses in Boston and to invite all the children to go to the Common and roll on the new-mown hay which was being made there. All the children of the city knew and loved him.

In December, 1826, the church extended a call to the Rev. Cyrus Pitt Grosvenor, which he accepted. He was born in Grafton, Mass., in 1792, graduated from Dartmouth College, and was ordained as an evangelist in 1824, in Charleston, S. C. His salary was "fixed at twelve hundred dollars and seventy-five dollars for moving his family from Hartford," where he had been pastor for one year. He was installed Jan. 24, 1827. The sermon was by President Francis Wayland, the charge by Rev. Joseph Grafton, of Newton, and the hand of fellowship by Rev. James D. Knowles, of the Second Church, Boston. The church was soon afflicted with dissensions, and brethren were not able to agree upon the necessary measures to arrest its steadily declining life. Two deacons, who had served in that office for twenty years, James Loring and Prince Snow, resigned. The pastor did not command the respect and support of the church. He was a good man, but was better fitted for the work of an evangelist than for the work of a settled minister in such a place as Boston. He presented too sharp and notable a contrast with the intellectual breadth and power of the late pastor.

The difficulties connected with the location of the

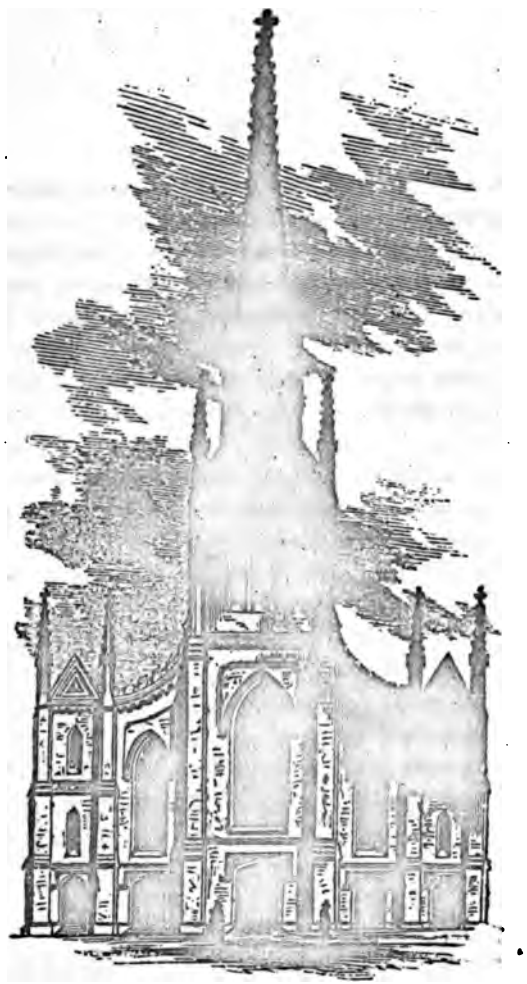


meeting-house in the changing population at the North End steadily increased. The prospect grew constantly darker. There were larger additions of new members than in the late pastorate, but they did not add to the strength of the church. In August, 1827, the church withdrew from the Warren Association, with which it had been affiliated since 1765, and united with the Boston Association, which had been formed in 1811. This church, through its long connection with the former Association, and the tender ties which had bound it to the Rhode Island churches, hesitated long before severing the old relations and uniting with the churches with which it had become locally closely associated. The wisdom of being associated with the sister churches of its own city was manifest. Nevertheless the church reluctantly decided to make the change.

CHAPTER XIV

A New Meeting-House. Rev. William Hague. Rev. Rollin H. Neale. Great Revival of 1842. Somerset Street Meeting-House. Union of First Church and Shawmut Avenue Church. Rev. C. B. Crane. The Commonwealth Avenue Meeting-House. Rev. P. S. Moxom. Rev. Nathan E. Wood.





FOURTH MEETING-HOUSE.
1854-1877.



XIV

THE old house in its day had been the most ample and the most costly house of worship, excepting the meeting-house in Providence, which Baptists in New England possessed. It was regarded as quite a wonder of elegance and roominess, and was justly the pride of the denomination. Long use had greatly impaired its desirableness, and the rapid removal of families to other localities no longer made it a favorable center of worship. In the latter part of 1827 the church began earnest consultation about removal to a new location and the building of a new meeting-house. They invited representatives from the other Baptist churches in Boston to meet and advise with them. Their invitation met with a cordial response, and the church voted to remove to the corner of Hanover Street and Green Dragon Lane (Union Street). A subscription was opened, and the other churches gave substantial evidence of their interest. This church subscribed for one hundred and eleven shares, the Second Church for thirteen shares, the Third (Charles Street) for eleven shares, and the Federal Street for ten shares.

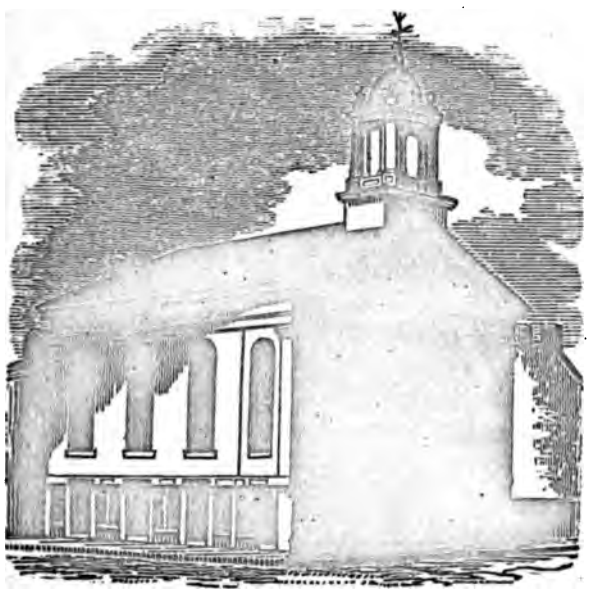
John K. Simpson, Isaac Davis, S. G. Shipley, Samuel Beal, Ichabod Macomber, Thomas Gould, were appointed a building committee, and on Oct. 21, 1828, the corner-stone of the new house was laid. The exercises were participated in by the pastor, Dr.



Daniel Sharp, and Rev. James D. Knowles. June 14, 1829, the church met for the last time in the old meeting-house. Former members came from far and near. It was a day of mingled joy and sadness. "The aged members of the Church, in particular, wept when they remembered Zion & thought of days & scenes gone by."[1] The church had worshiped on that spot for one hundred and fifty years, and it had become hallowed ground. The old building was sold for a small sum to the Baptist church in South Boston. It was taken apart and was floated across the harbor on empty casks. It was located at the corner of Broadway and C Street, and was used as a house of worship until September, 1867. It is now used as a carpet and furniture store. Many hallowed memories are connected with that building. In it Stillman and Wayland preached. In it was organized the first missionary society among Baptists in America. In it was organized the Massachusetts State Convention and the Newton Theological Institution. In it was preached the sermon on "The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise." It was occupied by British troops during the Revolution. It saw manifold activities for good.

The new meeting-house was dedicated, Thursday, June 18, 1829, the pastor preaching the sermon. Rev. Dr. Sharp, Rev. J. D. Knowles, and Rev. Howard Malcom assisted in the services. "The house was crowded with an attentive and solemn audience."[1] June 22, "one hundred and one pews in the meeting-house were sold at auction for about $27000."[2] The

[1] "Church Record." [2] "Proprietors' Record."



THIRD MEETING-HOUSE.
1829-1854.



whole cost of the ground and buildings had been about forty-five thousand dollars. The long-looked-for days of prosperity seemed to have come with this change of location. In September the Pew Proprietors reported that "110 of the 138 pews in the house had been purchased." "This sale the committee believe to be unexampled in this city: they not knowing of any meeting house here, where so many pews have been sold, so soon after its dedication." They declare further: "It thus appears that every pew proprietor, who attended public worship in the old house attends in this, besides the accession of many new families." The new house was built of brick and elevated so as to admit of having four stores underneath in addition to vestry rooms. It seated about eight hundred, and had galleries on three sides of the audience room.

Dec. 20, 1829, the new baptistery was used for the first time. The church had never before had a baptistery in its meeting-house. The ordinance of baptism had been administered in the open air, for many years at the side of the wharf which extended from the rear of the meeting-house lot into the mill-pond, and latterly at the foot of Lynn Street. This innovation also was not without objectors, but soon commended itself to all.

Jan. 31, 1830, the Hanover Street Congregational Meeting-house (Dr. Lyman Beecher, pastor) was burned, and our church at once offered the use of its meeting-house, which was accepted for Friday nights. Tradition says that the basement of the meeting-house which was burned was used for storing wines



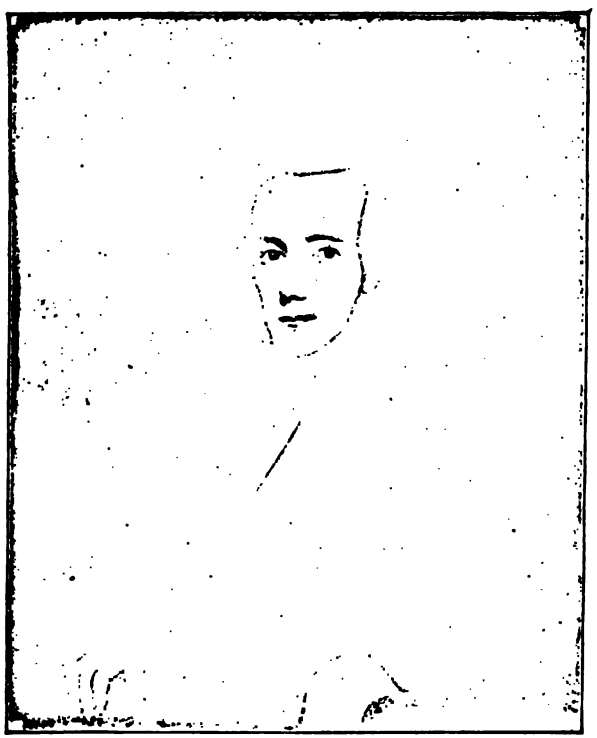
and liquors, and that the church received a regular rental for its use. This doggerel rhyme appeared in the newspapers:

> The spirits above are the spirits of love;
> The spirits below are the spirits of woe.
> The spirits above are the spirits divine;
> The spirits below are the spirits of wine.

Whatever may have been in the basement, the pulpit of Dr. Beecher was one of power and gave out no uncertain sound. With frank recognition of the significant and steady place which the First Baptist Church had held in Boston in the disturbing times when the Puritan churches were ceasing to be orthodox, he had publicly said in 1829 in our pulpit: "Your light was kept burning and shining when ours had gone out." He had come to Boston to reorganize the broken and scattered remnant of orthodox Congregationalism, and found a sympathetic coadjutor in this church.

The dissatisfaction with Mr. Grosvenor culminated in July, 1830, and on the eleventh he offered his resignation, which was accepted, and his labors terminated at the end of September. He was dismissed to the Second Church, Salem, of which he became pastor. He had been pastor of this church three years and nine months, during which time he had received fifty-three new members. It was a time of peculiar care and labor, consequent upon the removal from the old to the new meeting-house. There were some evidences of prosperity and he was abundant in labors, but he does not seem to have had the hearty good





WILLIAM HAGUE, D. D.
Minister, 1831–1837.



will of his people at any time in his ministry. He left the church with about two hundred and forty members.

Almost immediately Rev. William Hague, of Utica, N. Y., was invited to preach for several Sundays, which he did, with so much acceptance that on December 7 a unanimous call was extended to him. The salary was fixed at twelve hundred dollars per annum, but it was afterward raised to eighteen hundred dollars. On the fifteenth he accepted, and was installed Feb. 3, 1831. The sermon was by President Wayland, and other parts of the service were conducted by Lucius Bolles, Howard Malcom, James D. Knowles, William Collier. Mr. Hague was born in Pelham, N. Y., in 1808, was graduated at Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., in 1826, and at the Newton Theological Institution in 1829. He had been pastor for a brief time at Utica before he came to Boston. He was but twenty-three years old when he entered upon his work in this church. He was a man of exceptionally brilliant gifts, both of heart and intellect. He was an attractive public speaker, and was often eloquent. He was a scholarly, cultivated, genial Christian gentleman. He had a happy blending of gifts and graces, which made him a welcome guest on every occasion. Whether in parlor or on platform, he quickly commanded a hearing in Boston, and especially among educated people. He had a fascinating attraction for young men, and this he retained even into old age. Few men have been more constantly and widely useful in an American pulpit.

His opening ministry in this church was a prophecy





of the career which followed. The church had summoned Francis Wayland, a young man of twenty-five, to a first pastorate, and had brought to light an intellectual and moral influence of the first magnitude. Again they summoned a young man, and were happy to discover that they had a pulpit orator of the first order. The meeting-house soon became thronged. Additions were numerous and prosperity ensued. In 1833, when President Andrew Jackson and his cabinet made the tour of New England, they attended the First Baptist Church on the Sabbath. The president was the guest of Hon. John K. Simpson, who was chairman of the Standing Committee of the Pew Proprietors.

Although the pastor was not a radical yet he was progressive and had pronounced views on the great questions of philanthropy and reform. In 1833 the constitutional convention of Massachusetts adopted a Bill of Rights which provided absolutely for religious liberty. It was the first time that Baptists had equal liberty under the constitution of the Commonwealth with Congregationalists. It marked the end of the struggle begun in 1665. In 1836 the young men of the church presented, as a token of esteem and affection, the portrait of Mr. Hague, which now hangs in our vestry.

In June, 1837, the pastor presented his resignation to accept the call of the First Church in Providence. He had been called to that church before he came to Boston, and the renewed invitation came to him as the voice of duty. He had deliberately adopted the theory that short pastorates offered him the greatest







ROLLIN HEBER NEALE, D. D.
Minister, 1837-1877.



usefulness, and he acted upon this theory during the remainder of his long life. (He died in Boston in 1888.) The church reluctantly accepted his resignation of the pastorate which had lasted six years and a half. No notable events occurred during his pastorate, but the church was greatly strengthened and enlarged after more than twenty years of disheartening decadence. He came at an opportune time to the church which had newly settled in a desirable locality. He received two hundred and fifty-four members and left the church with a membership of three hundred and fifty-seven.

In 1837 the benevolent contributions of the church were, for the first time, systematically arranged. It was "voted that a quarterly collection be taken, annually, in aid of the following objects, viz; Foreign and Domestic Missions, Education, Sabbath School & Bible and Tract Society."[1] These and other objects had been supported formerly by collections made by special vote of the church, and were somewhat irregular. At this time it was voted also not to respond to appeals to aid in building meeting-houses in other sections of the country. The records show many such appeals from every part of the United States and Canada; but it was decided to restrict contributions to the great missionary organizations, and in this they undoubtedly acted wisely.

Rev. Rollin H. Neale was invited to preach for a few Sabbaths, which he did. He was unanimously called to the pastorate, Aug. 29, 1837, at a salary of eighteen hundred dollars. He was born in Southing-

[1] "Church Record."



on, Conn., in 1808, was graduated from Columbian University, Washington, D. C., in 1830, and from Newton Theological Institution in 1833. While at the latter place he was also pastor of the South Boston Baptist Church. From 1834 to 1837 he was pastor of the First Baptist Church of New Haven, Conn. He accepted the call and began his work September 17, on which day he was publicly installed.

He began at once a ministry of persuasiveness and usefulness. He had a genial and gracious personality, and was an earnest and often eloquent preacher. He had a genius for friendships. Many persons were drawn to him and additions to the church became numerous. In August, 1841, it was "voted to invite Rev. Jacob Knapp to begin a series of revival meetings with them."[1] He was one of the most notable evangelists whom this century has produced. He came early in 1842 and preached with wonderful power for several weeks. The whole city was greatly stirred. Religion became the absorbing topic of conversation on every side. Within a few months about three hundred persons were baptized into this church. Large numbers were added to the other churches in the city. It was the greatest ingathering that the church had ever witnessed. But in October the pastor laments to the church that there is a marked declension of spiritual life and exhorts them to arouse themselves and seek to maintain the high spiritual level which they had reached in the great revival. But this was not to be, and the evidences of spiritual declension are manifest during the following ten

[1] "Church Record."

years. The additions by baptism did not average eight annually, and the work greatly slackened. Every enterprise suffered from the lethargic spirit in the church, which had reached its high-water mark of membership (seven hundred and fifty-five) in 1844, and no effort seemed to avail to arrest the decline in numbers and in zeal.

In 1844 the Home Mission Society sent to the church the following query: "Do you approve the appointment of any man as a missionary of the Society who is a slave holder. i. e. who holds his fellowmen as property?"[1] The church voted to answer: "we give a negative answer, because we believe, that though good and pious men have held slaves, slavery is nevertheless a great moral evil and we wish it entirely disconnected from our missionary operations, and from the church of Christ."[1] It was the time of the violent agitation over the subject of African slavery, and North and South were coming to the parting of the ways. Discussion grew more and more fierce. Fugitive slaves were seized in free States and carried back into slavery. The great conflict was already foreshadowed. There were many timid souls, but this church and its pastor were not among them. Their utterance is unmistakable without being intolerant.

May 13, 1845, at a business meeting of the church, when ballots were being prepared for the choice of a deacon, "it was voted that the sisters be requested to ballot with the brethren."[1] This is the first record of the sisters voting formally and equally with the brethren. This church, which purported to be a true

[1] "Church Record."





democracy in church government, in company with churches of all other denominations, had steadily refused a vote to its Christian women. Now for the first time they are recognized as having a legitimate voice in the business of the church, and they have continued the exercise of that right until this day.

In October, 1846, the prudential committee was abolished. It had held a precarious place ever since it was organized, some years before, and even after this time it was revived and dropped several times. It has had a fitful history.

In 1851 the question of removal to a new site began to be agitated. Business had made extensive encroachment on the field which the church occupied. Ground was finally purchased from the Loring estate on Somerset Street, and on Sept. 12, 1853, the corner-stone of a new house was laid. In April, 1854, the new vestry was occupied for the first time, and on Jan. 11, 1855, the whole house was dedicated with the following service: "Prayer by Prof. Barnas Sears; Original Hymn by Rev S. F. Smith, DD. Scripture reading by Rev E. N. Kirk DD; Sermon by Dr Neale; Dedicatory prayer by President Francis Wayland; Drs Cushman, Burlingham, and Caldicott assisted in the services which were witnessed by a large and interested audience."[1] The meeting-house was ninety-four feet long by seventy-six feet wide. It had one hundred and fifty-eight pews and seated about one thousand persons. Its interior was finished in Gothic style. Its vestries were under the main audience room. It was lighted by gas. It had a tall

[1] "Church Record."

steeple, which, standing as it did on the summit of Beacon Hill, was one of the landmarks of the city. It was visible for many miles, and was especially well known by sailors, who by means of it guided their ships into the harbor. The old property was sold for eighty thousand dollars, and the site was utilized for commercial purposes.

The last day in the old house was one of sadness and joy. Former members came in great numbers to the final services. Eight hundred and forty persons had been baptized during the twenty-five years in which it had been occupied, and there were many tender associations. Here the first infant, or primary, Sunday-school in the world (so far as is known) was organized. Here had been the great revival led by Rev. Jacob Knapp.

The high hopes of the new location were not realized. The church did not grow as had been expected. Almost every year marked a decrease in members. They gave largely to missions, education, and philanthropies. After the first year the additions were few. Some years there were no baptisms. Families were moving away, and new Baptist churches were springing up in other sections of the city. For several years the agitations of the Civil War absorbed men's thoughts. The spirit of patriotism ran high in the church. Some of its most active and valued young men volunteered for service in the army of the Union. The work of the church was pursued amid many distractions and discouragements. The pastor, with commendable patience, stood in his place, and was upheld by the united support of a loving church,



During his long pastorate of forty years the records reveal no dissensions and no divisions. It is a record of unbroken harmony, although not always of prosperity.

In 1861 a committee of sisters, with Mrs. S. G. Shipley as chairwoman, was appointed "to make garments for the volunteers now going forward for their countrys defence."[1] These patriotic services were long continued. In 1864 a great effort was made to free the meeting-house from debt, and twenty thousand dollars was subscribed toward its liquidation, but it was not until 1867 that the whole mortgage was canceled.

In 1865 the two hundredth anniversary of the church was celebrated, and the pastor preached a historical discourse which was printed. In January, 1868, Rev. A. B. Earle was invited to conduct revival services, which proved acceptable, and "did not realize the fears which past experience had engendered."[1] Thirty-four persons were baptized as a result of these meetings, but at the end of May the church begins to lament the decline in spiritual interest and to devise means by which the attendance upon the meetings may be improved. The prayer meetings languished and the state of religion was not what they had hoped it would be.

In June, 1871, the church called Rev. John T. Beckley to be associate pastor with Dr. Neale, who now began to feel the infirmities of age. He accepted the call, and was ordained Oct. 10, 1871. In February, 1873, it was voted to hold the preaching service

[1] "Church Record."

in the evening instead of the afternoon, thus changing the unbroken custom of the church and beginning the practice which still continues. The relation of pastor and associate seems to have been happy, but the church continued to decline and every year grew less able to bear its burdens and less hopeful for the future.

In 1875 a committee appointed to consider the state of the church reported that "there were 344 members—98 males, and 246 females, but that only 113—41 males and 72 females, could be relied on to attend the meetings."[1] The review of the situation was distinctly discouraging. They invited the declining Charles Street Church to unite with them, but these overtures were finally withdrawn. In 1876 overtures were made to the Harvard Street Church for a union of the two interests and a removal to a new location. Negotiations were pending for more than a year, and efforts were made to obtain a new site at the corner of Pleasant Street and Columbus Avenue, but the Proprietors of Pews were doubtful about the desirability of the location. Finally the attempt at union was abandoned, because "this church did not see its way clear."[1]

June 1, 1876, Mr. Beckley terminated his relations by resignation, and on the same date Dr. Neale tendered his resignation, which, however, was not immediately accepted. The church seemed to be at the gravest crisis in its long history. Its location was not good. Many of its valuable members had removed to other parts of the city, and the outlook was

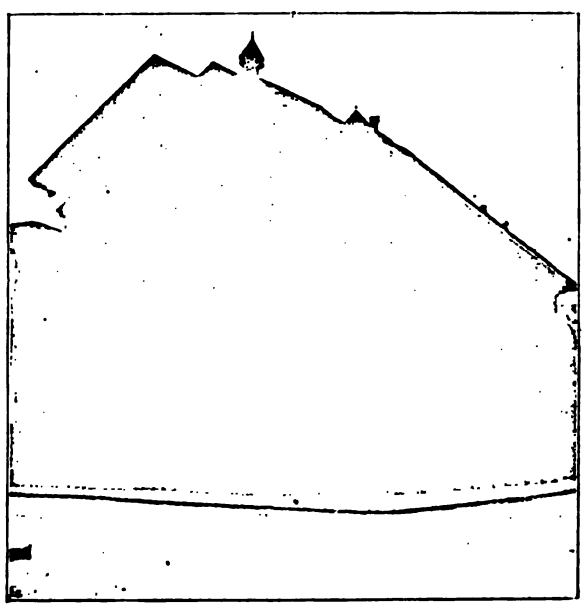
[1] "Church Record."



ng. A strong committee was appointed to
r. Neale's resignation and the whole situa-
: church, and report some plan of action.
76 and early in 1877 informal conferences
with members of the Shawmut Avenue
cated at the corner of Shawmut Avenue
id Street. A plan of union was formulated
ited to the church. Both organizations
tified this plan. The Shawmut Avenue
rrendered its property, and its members
ed in a body into the membership of the
ch. On Thursday, May 24, 1877, the First
:t for the first time in the vestry of the
Avenue meeting-house, and received the
:d and ten members of that church into its
p. The union was now complete. Sun-
7, the First Church occupied for the last
:eting-house on Somerset Street, and there-
or worship in that on Shawmut Avenue.
:eting-house was afterward remodeled and
home of Boston University. The chapel
iversity still retains the former ceiling,
ulpit, and pulpit furniture of the room in
Neale preached from 1855 to 1877. Sun-
the united church met as the First Church
in the Shawmut Avenue Meeting-house,
/illiam Hague, D. D., who had been pastor
irch, preached the sermon.

wmut Avenue Church was organized in
6, under the name of the Thirteenth Bap-
. Revs. R. W. Cushman and P. S. Evans
h the church for the first year and a half.





FIFTH MEETING-HOUSE.
Shawmut Avenue. 1877-1882.



In 1859 Rev. J. W. Parker became pastor and the name was changed to Shawmut Avenue Baptist Church. The meeting-house was purchased, refitted, and dedicated. Mr. Parker resigned in December, 1864, and in April, 1865, Rev. Wm. Hague, D. D., became pastor. The meeting-house was enlarged and beautified, and the debt was paid. The mission school, which has since become the Ruggles Street Church, was established. Dr. Hague resigned in 1869. Rev. Geo. C. Lorimer, D. D., was pastor from 1870 to 1873, and Rev. Wayland Hoyt, D. D., from 1874 to 1876. This church had had at times large accessions, but in 1876 was seriously considering a change of location, when providentially the two churches were led to a union. The expectation was to find a new site and build a suitable meeting-house.

The resignation of Dr. Neale was accepted June 1, 1877, and he was provided with an annuity of one thousand dollars, as long as he should live. He died in Boston, Sept. 18, 1879. He had been pastor almost forty years. His pastorate was the second longest in the history of the church. He was a man of commanding figure, urbane, genial, quick of sympathy, and an interesting preacher. He especially excelled in short addresses, as at funerals, in times of sorrow, or on special occasions. He was very approachable, and was loved and loving. His kindly, catholic, Christian spirit made a large place for him in the affections of his congregation and of the community. He was one of the notable citizens of Boston. He received the degree of D. D. from Brown in 1850, and from Harvard in 1857. He was for many years a

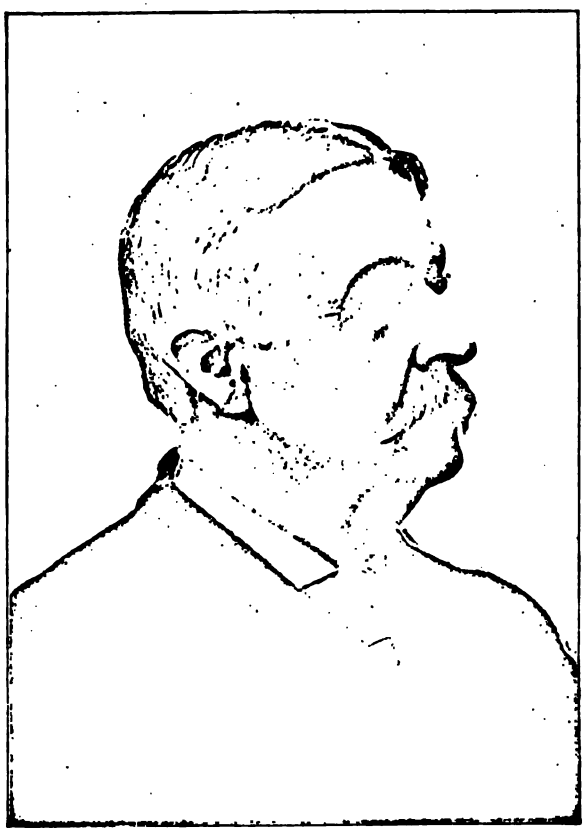


ın "overseer" of Harvard College.
contributor to the religious press,
ipant in civil and denominational
t, which the church possesses, was
l Hill, and was painted soon after
storate in 1837. He received one
red and forty-one members into
ust and a marble memorial tablet
ɔn the west wall of the audience

Rev. Cephas B. Crane, D. D., of
as called to the pastorate "at a
ısand dollars, and five hundred
expenses." He began his labors
ublicly installed April 21. The
G. C. Lorimer, D. D. The other
service were Drs. J. N. Murdock,
nan Lincoln, A. J. Gordon, H. M.
Dr. Crane was born in Marion,
aduated from the University of
ınd from the Rochester Theolog-
60. He was pastor of the South
onn., from 1860 to 1878.
he church publicly celebrated the
ersary "of the nailing up of the
g House" by the General Court.
l a suitable sermon in the morn-
ing there were addresses by Gov-
g, representing the State; Rev.
representing the Puritans; and
. The exercises awakened great







CEPHAS B. CRANE, D. D.
Minister, 1878-1884.



Dec. 20, 1881, a communication was received from a committee of four, of which Mr. Irving O. Whiting was chairman, and Mr. Samuel N. Brown was a member, proposing the establishment of a Baptist church in the Back Bay, and requesting a conference. Such a conference was held, and considered the present favorable opportunity for establishing a church, and especially the possibility of purchasing the beautiful meeting-house on the corner of Commonwealth Avenue and Clarendon Street, which the Brattle Square Unitarian Society had erected but had lost upon a foreclosure of mortgage. A public meeting had been held there on the twentieth of June preceding, the invitation to which said: "We think this may be of material value in determining the desirability and availability of that edifice for the purposes of a Baptist church." This house, which was built in 1872, had remained unoccupied for several years (1875 to 1881) and was for sale. A special meeting of the church was called Dec. 28, 1881, to consider the matter, when after much discussion it was voted "that a change of location of the First Baptist Church to the Back Bay is expedient."[1] The vote was forty-eight to twenty-eight. A committee consisting of Lansing Millis, E. B. Badger, J. D. K. Willis, G. E. Learnard, and D. C. Linscott was appointed and "authorized to purchase the property known as the Brattle Square Church."[1] Negotiations were begun and on March 7, 1882, the church voted to purchase the property for one hundred thousand dollars. There was some opposition to this movement, but the majority in its

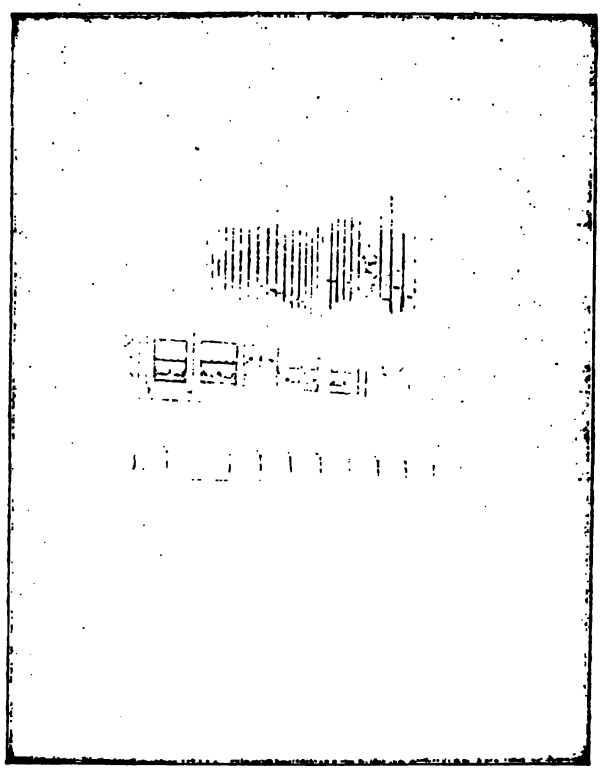
[1] "Church Record."



favor was large. Not long after, the Somerset Street meeting-house was sold to the Boston University for forty-five thousand dollars, and in June the Shawmut Avenue property was sold to the First Free Baptist Society for forty thousand dollars. It was voted to purchase the vacant lot of land west of the meeting-house on Commonwealth Avenue and erect a chapel. The corner-stone of this chapel was laid Sept. 12, 1882, with appropriate services. On Friday evening, Oct. 27, a prayer meeting was held in the side vestry, and on Sunday, Oct. 29, 1882, the meeting-house was dedicated. The acoustics of the audience room had been bad and in order to remedy this serious defect galleries had been built in each of the transepts and over the main entrance at the east end. The interior had been put in order, and changes had been made in the pulpit and choir loft. The dedicatory sermon was by the pastor, and other parts in the services, both morning and evening, were taken by Drs. Alvah Hovey, A. J. Gordon, T. D. Anderson, D. H. Taylor, S. K. Lothrop, J. T. Duryea. These services were impressive and were largely attended.

Feb. 7, 1883, the new chapel was opened for service with appropriate exercises. The whole cost to us of the meeting-house, chapel, and all belongings, had been one hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars. The original cost of the property as it now stands has been about four hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The meeting-house is in the form of a Greek cross, in the Southern Romanesque style, and is built of Roxbury stone. It presents a massive and striking appearance. It has a square tower of remarkable beauty.





INTERIOR VIEW OF PRESENT MEETING-HOUSE.



This tower is one hundred and seventy-six feet high, and its frieze consists of four groups of colossal sculptured figures, representing baptism, communion, marriage, and death. At the corners are four angels of judgment, each with a golden trumpet, summoning the world to the grand assize. The figures of the frieze are likenesses of famous men. In the baptismal scene is Charles Sumner. In the communion Longfellow is the central figure, with Emerson and Hawthorne. In the marriage are Lincoln and Garibaldi.

The sculpture was from designs by Bartholdi, of Paris, and was carved by Italian artists after the stones were set in place. A singular error has been perpetuated through the misinformation of a writer of Boston history in regard to the ownership of our beautiful tower. It is currently supposed that the tower and ground on which it stands were reserved and belong to a company of gentlemen who are not Baptists. The fact is, that the church owns the tower, the ground on which it stands, and the whole property *absolutely in fee simple*. The audience room seats about nine hundred, the smaller vestry about one hundred and fifty, and the chapel about three hundred and fifty. There is also a ladies' parlor and a pastor's study. It is one of the most costly and beautiful meeting-houses in New England. The architect was Mr. H. H. Richardson. In the belfry hangs the old bell which was hung originally in 1809 in the old Brattle Square Meeting-house. It was cast in London, weighs three thousand four hundred and sixty-nine pounds, and cost two thousand dollars. It replaced one given by John Hancock in 1772. It has

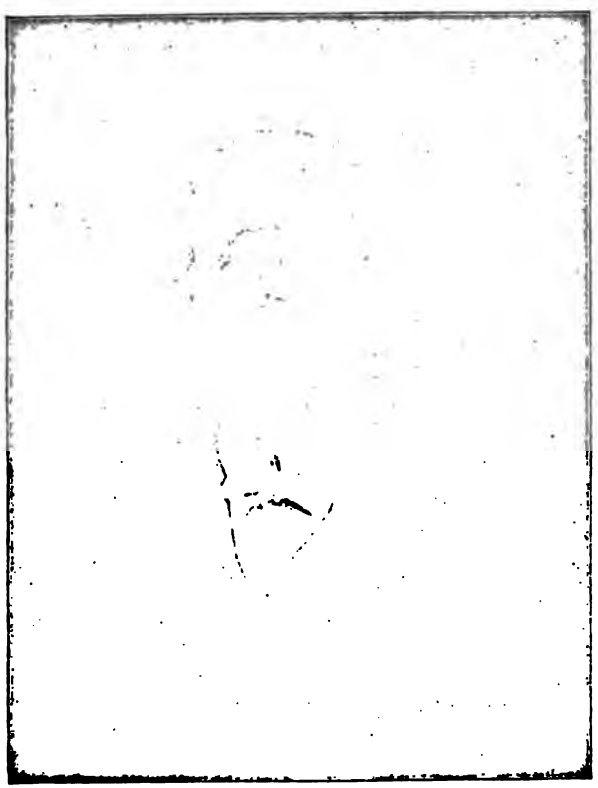


been in constant use for almost ninety years. In the tower on the Clarendon Street front two oblong sandstones are inlaid, one of which bears the inscription, "John Hancock Esq. July 27. 1772." and the other, "J^{no} Greenleaf. 1772." These were taken from the corner-stone of the old Brattle Square Meeting-house and inserted here as memorials. It seems singularly appropriate that John Hancock, who was an officer and pillar in that church, should have his name on the wall of the First Baptist Meeting-house, for in the old house on Salem Street he was a constant attendant on the eloquent ministry of Dr. Stillman.

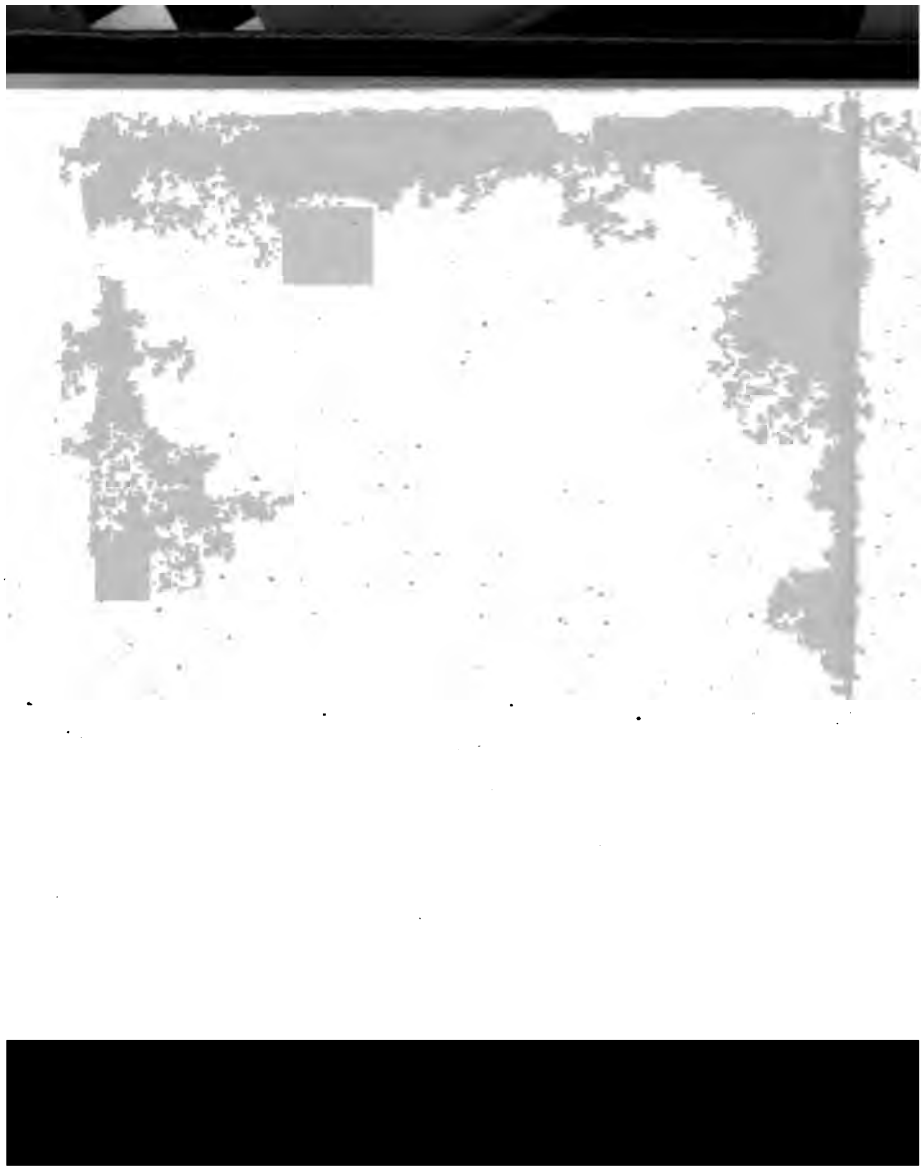
Sunday, March 2, 1884, the pastor called to the pulpit Mr. Lansing Millis, who made a statement of the debt which remained on the meeting-house after the sale of all their other properties, the payment of the mortgages on them, and the collection of all subscriptions hitherto made. This debt remaining was fifty-five thousand dollars. An hour was taken in considering the matter and in taking pledges, when it was found that the whole amount was subscribed. It was a time of great enthusiasm and gladness.

Oct. 5, 1884, the pastor, Dr. Crane, resigned, on the ground of impaired health and consequent inability to do what work was requisite for his office. The church accepted his resignation, to take effect at once, and presented him with a purse of two thousand dollars in token of regard. In the following April he became pastor in Concord, N. H., where he remained twelve years. Dr. Crane's pastorate was a notable one. The process of the unification of the two churches went on through all his ministry here. His





PHILIP S. MOXOM, D. D.
Minister, 1885–1893.

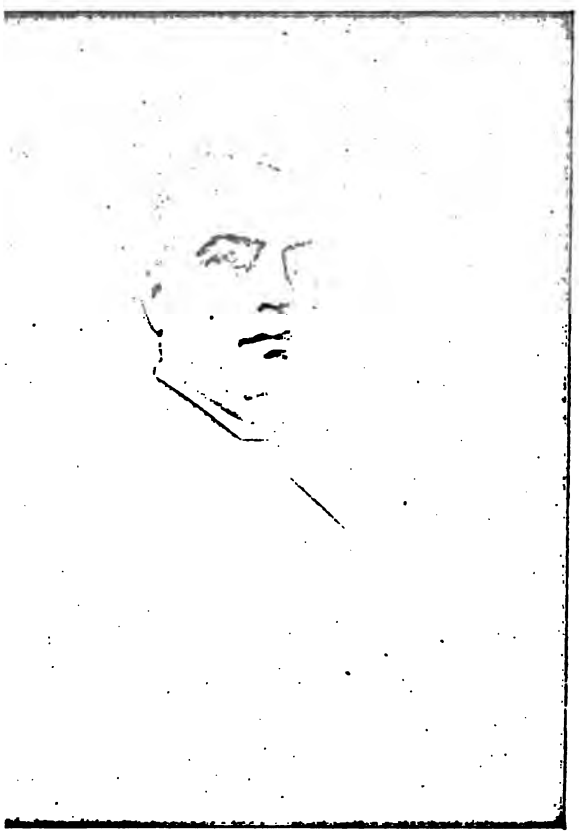


tact, his genial management, and his Christian bearing made it possible to hasten and consummate this unification. The purchase of the present beautiful meeting-house, and the removal of the church to the Back Bay, together with the adjustment of many difficult questions, occurred during his ministry. He had the assistance of many notable laymen, two of whom, Lansing Millis and Deacon J. W. Converse, both of blessed memory, were especially prominent in obtaining the new house. Tablets to their memory have been placed by the church on the interior wall of the audience room. Dr. Crane was pastor six and one-half years, and received one hundred and ninety-four new members.

June 16, 1885, a call was extended to Rev. Philip S. Moxom, of Cleveland, Ohio, at a salary of five thousand dollars. His pastorate began August 3, but he did not actually begin his work until October 1. He was publicly installed October 7, with a sermon by Rev. Thomas Armitage, D. D., of New York City. Other participants were Drs. Alvah Hovey, Phillips Brooks, George A. Gordon, A. J. Gordon, C. B. Crane, H. K. Potter. Mr. Moxom was born in Canada in 1848. He attended Kalamazoo and Shurtleff Colleges and Rochester University, from which he graduated in 1879. He had also pursued theological studies at Rochester Seminary. He had been pastor in Bellevue and Albion, Mich., and Mount Morris, N. Y. In 1879 he became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Cleveland, Ohio. A man of fine literary tastes, he was also deeply interested in all social and philanthropic movements.

In May, 1886, the young people of the church began a mission at Grove Hall (Boston), which was so prospered that in February, 1887, it was organized as the Elm Hill Baptist Church. Considerable sums of money were contributed by this church toward the erection of their chapel. Jan. 10, 1892, the pastor gave three months' notice of his resignation. February 8, the church declined to accept it by a vote of sixty-nine to twenty-five, and in March his resignation was withdrawn on certain conditions which he specified and which the church accepted by the same vote as above. Differences of opinion which had been manifest for a considerable time remained and were intensified. Nov. 5, 1893, Dr. Moxom again resigned, closing his pastoral service Dec. 31, 1893. He had been pastor eight years and four months, and had received one hundred and ninety-one new members. He subsequently became pastor of a Congregational church in Springfield, Mass., where he now (1899) resides. This church was left in such condition as is usual where there have been so marked differences.

Rev. Thomas Armitage, D. D., of New York City, became the permanent supply of the pulpit for some months, and his labors were highly appreciated at that critical time, but in April ill health compelled him to withdraw. June 25, 1894, a unanimous call was extended to Rev. Nathan E. Wood, D. D., of Brookline, Mass., at a salary of six thousand dollars, and on July 27 it was accepted. His pastorate began September 1, and still (1899) continues. He was born in Forestville, N. Y., June 6, 1849, graduated from the University of Chicago in 1872, and from the Baptist



NATHAN E. WOOD, D. D.
Minister, 1894.



Union Theological Seminary of Chicago in 1875. He was ordained in Chicago, Sept. 12, 1875. He organized and became pastor of the Centennial Baptist Church of Chicago immediately upon his graduation. He was principal for several years of Wayland Academy, in Wisconsin. He has been pastor of the Memorial Church, Chicago, the Strong Place Church, New York City (Brooklyn Borough), and the Brookline Church, Mass. A most delightful spirit of harmony and of earnest co-operation now possesses the church, and every department has been marked by a happy and vigorous growth. There has been a marked development of the spirit of hospitality to strangers at the services of the church, and the results are gratifying. The benevolent and missionary contributions of the church for 1897 were noteworthy. The total sum was above twenty-seven thousand dollars, of which fifteen thousand dollars was for missions. The great movement for the raising of the debt of four hundred and eighty-six thousand dollars which rested on the Missionary Union, was planned and inaugurated in this church. Our contribution was ten thousand dollars. This result was among the most noteworthy achievements in the whole history of American Baptists. In these later years a large spirit of wide and discriminating generosity is a marked characteristic of the church. The additions of new members in the present pastorate have been two hundred and fourteen.

This church has exhibited a singular continuity and uniformity in its doctrinal history. It has been situated in a city which has been unusually subject to

[redacted]

[redacted]

theological change and upheaval. There have been many and startling departures from the orthodox faith, but this church has stood immovable in the midst of them all. In so far as our records and traditions show, there has been no wavering and no wandering from the credal statement put forth in 1665. It is held by this church with as much tenacity to-day as it was then. There have been individuals, from time to time, who have been tinctured with other doctrines, and have withdrawn from us. Some few at the close of the last century followed the preaching of John Murray, the apostle of Universalism. In the great schism of the Puritan churches, when Trinitarian and Unitarian parted company, it does not appear that this church lost a single member, or was in any wise disturbed by that volcanic controversy. Indeed, it is the distinct testimony of competent observers that the Baptists were the recognized bulwark of Christianity in Boston, and kept alive the ancient faith during that exciting time. The church has always held a moderately Calvinistic theology, which it believes to be found in the Holy Scriptures. Individual pastors have given personal emphasis in varying degree to these doctrines. Dr. Stillman was a somewhat severe Calvinist; Mr. Condy was not. The former believed in revivals, the latter did not. But the church itself has not varied in its belief in the infallibility of the Holy Scriptures as the inspired revelation of God and the all-sufficient authority for creed and government. It has always believed in the Deity of Jesus Christ, in the atonement through his death upon the cross, and in complete redemption for

men through faith in him. It has always believed in the Trinity. It has always believed in regeneration by the Holy Spirit through the word, and has always insisted upon a regenerate church-membership. It has always believed in the separation of Church and State. It has always practised the immersion of the believer in water, and restricted communion. It has always believed in the final separation of the righteous and the wicked, and that heaven and hell were mighty realities of spiritual history. The author of this history has been able to trace practically no variations in the belief of this church through its long career. It has held with utmost tenacity to the plain and clear teaching of the Holy Scriptures. This fact is the explanation of the continuity and uniformity of its beliefs. "Hitherto hath the Lord led us."



CHAPTER XV

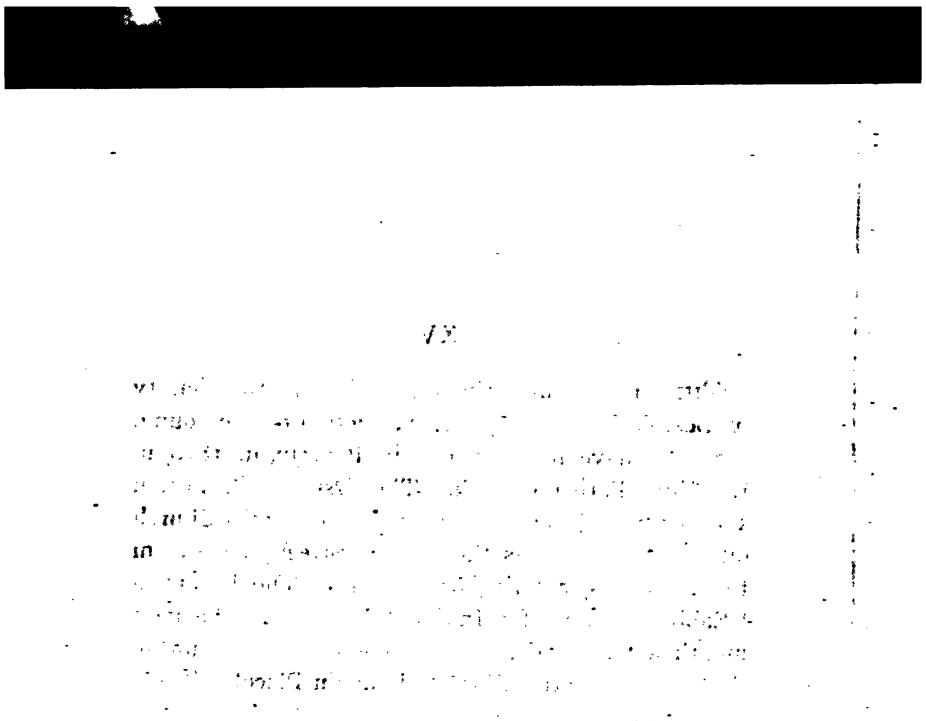
The Sunday-school. The Women's Societies.



XV

THE first Sunday-school organized in the vicinity of Boston, for the religious instruction of the young, seems to have been the one in Beverly, in 1810, in the First Parish Church. The first one in Boston was begun in June, 1816, in the Third Baptist Church (afterward known as the Charles Street), and was in two divisions, a "Female Sabbath School" and a "Sabbath School for Indigent Boys." In the next month a "Female Sabbath School" was begun in the Second Baptist Church (Baldwin Place). It was soon after the settlement of Mr. Winchell that the question of organizing a Sunday-school in the First Church was agitated, but no decision was reached until August, 1816, when a "Female Sabbath School" was commenced in the vestry. It enrolled eighty-seven members, seventy-five of whom were in attendance in October, 1818. The records of this school cannot be found, but it was conducted by women exclusively. In the next month, September, 1816, "the Sabbath School for Indigent Boys" was begun, and more than one hundred boys were enrolled, seventy of whom remained in October, 1818.[1] In November, 1816, the First African Baptist Church began a school with about fifty pupils. Thus from June to November in 1816 all of the four Baptist churches in Boston equipped themselves with Sabbath-schools. It seems

[1] *Vide* "The Sunday-school Repository," Oct. 1818.



like concerted action, and doubtless there was mutual consultation. The earliest record which we possess is as follows:

Sept 4. 1816, A number of persons desirous of forming a Society, for the support of a Sabbath School, assembled at the house of M^r^ Charles H. Jones, the object of the meeting having been stated by the Rev^d^ James M. Winchell, Dea^n^ James Loring was chosen chairman, and John K. Simpson, Secretary. After an appropriate prayer by the Rev^d^ James M. Winchell it was unanimously, Voted that the persons present will make an effort to esta[illegible]h a Sabbath School for the instruction of Indigent Boys in reading [illegible]lling in the First Baptist Society in Boston.[1]

A constitution was adopted and officers were chosen as follows: Horace Winchell, instructor; Isaac Bemis, secretary; Charles H. Jones, treasurer; Rev. James M. Winchell, Deacon James Loring, Mr. Edmund Parsons, Mr. John K. Simpson, managers. The object is thus stated:

Having a very high opinion of the utility of Sunday Schools in affording the means of instruction to many who would otherwise remain destitute: in correcting their morals, in giving them an opportunity to attend publick worship: and in producing religious impressions on their minds, which may be blessed of God for their conversion.[1]

The first instructors were E. Parsons, J. Bemis, H. Fox, R. Smith, J. G. Loring, D. Badger, Jr., A. Winchell, H. Winchell. The Sunday-school had no superintendent for the first ten years. It was a group of independent classes which had no special connection with each other, other than that they all met at the same hour and place. At first the pupils were taught

[1] "Sunday-school Record."

the rudiments of an English education, such as reading, spelling, and arithmetic, intermixed with some religious instruction. It was wholly a work of charity. They met at eight o'clock on Sunday morning and remained in session until time for the public worship, when the boys and girls were led in solemn procession to the galleries of the meeting-house, where they sat with their teachers. After service there was a short intermission for dinner, and at one o'clock they gathered again and remained until the afternoon service of the church, to which they went in procession as in the morning, after which they were dismissed. Complaints were often made about the disturbances which the boys made in the galleries during church time. Young men only were employed as teachers, and they evidently had no easy task in keeping the restless boys in order. Sunday was a laborious day to these volunteer teachers, and it is not strange that they proposed to keep the school in session until noon, and so be absent from the morning worship. This had a double advantage. It saved them from the reproaches of the sober and orderly people in their pews because they did not keep their boys quiet, and it gave them a little leisure on Sunday afternoon for themselves. But this custom was soon frowned upon by the church, and all were compelled as before to attend the two services on the Lord's Day.

The boys were given shoes, caps, mittens, and suits of clothes, once or twice a year, so that they might present a decent appearance in the school on Sunday. These were intended for Sunday clothes and for use on no other days, but the boys having an eye to good





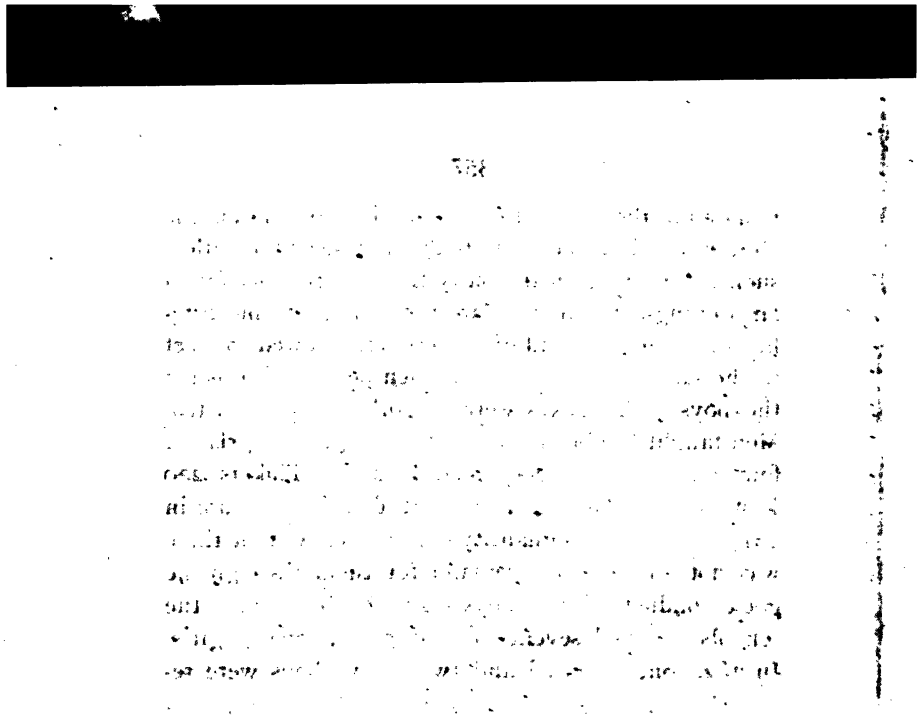
clothes contrived to wear them on week days, and soon presented anything but a Sunday appearance in dress when they came to the school. This abuse soon grew so flagrant and open that the teachers exerted all their powers of persuasion and threatening for its removal. "The indigent boys," however, were unconquerable until the instructors hit upon the device of keeping the clothes at the meeting-house, and loaning them out on Saturday afternoon to be promptly returned on Monday morning. Among our archives are many receipts for hats, caps, mittens, garments, cloth, etc., for Sunday-school uses. These seem very odd to us now, but possibly no more so than will the modern receipts for Christmas presents, candies, suppers, and picnics seem to those who shall come long after us. In the first annual report Mr. Winchell says:

> Nearly one half of the children are now able to read in the Bible, many scholars from six to fifteen years of age have been taught the letters of the alphabet. Besides acquiring the rudiments of spelling and reading most of the children have been taught the catechism. The largest half of them have been in the habit of reciting portions of the Scriptures and nearly all can repeat the Lord's Prayer correctly. A large number of them secure but little or no instruction, except what is imparted in these schools, and not one half of them would regularly attend public worship were they not conducted to the house of God by their teachers.[1]

The girls' school met in the vestry, and the boys met for a while in the North public schoolhouse. In 1818 thirty-two dollars per year was paid for the rent of the school building, which stood on Back Street (now Salem). Various efforts were made to raise

[1] "Sunday-school Record."

money for the erection of a suitable building on the church lot, but the church did not see fit to allow such a building, until finally the two schools found an abiding-place in the two vestries of the meeting-house. The boys and girls were not allowed to meet in the same room, nor were women permitted to teach the boys. The sexes were carefully kept separated. Men taught the boys and women taught the girls. I find a receipt "for 200 Good Behavior Tickets, 200 Punctual Tickets, and 200 Merit Tickets," for use in 1817, but the small quantity required shows that there was not an excessive demand for them through the good conduct of the boys. In October, 1817, the schools reported seventy-five boys and seventy girls. In 1824 one hundred and twenty-five boys were reported as members of the school. Such a Sunday-school must have been a somewhat severe tax upon the patience of the boys and girls as well as upon the teachers, and one cannot judge them very harshly if they were not always found at the church service, or if being there, they were sometimes a little restless. The usual order of exercises in the school was the singing of a few verses of a hymn at the opening, and this was followed with a short prayer. Then lessons were learned and recited until ten minutes before the time for public worship, when a few verses of another hymn were sung, and the pupils were marshaled by the teachers and led into the gallery of the meeting-house. The afternoon was usually given to a more exclusive religious instruction. Hymns, psalms, and passages of Scripture, which had been committed to memory, were listened to by the teachers, and the

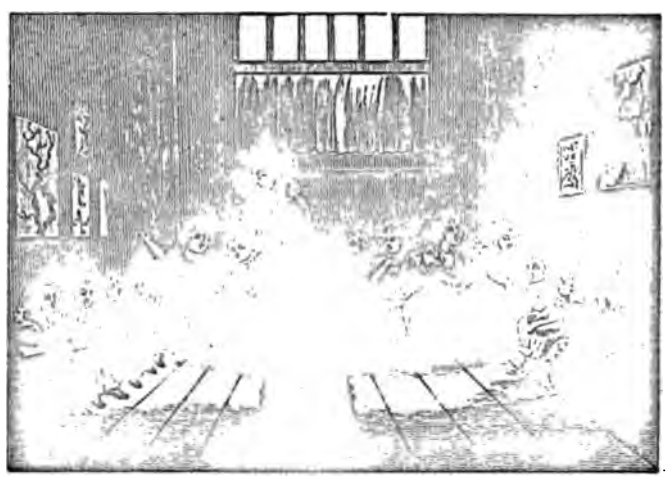


catechism was studied. The teachers were often not professors of religion, and one of the special advantages of the Sabbath-school was that many of these teachers became converted. The sense of responsibility and the effort to teach the children the truths of the Scriptures led the teachers to religious thoughtfulness and to a Christian life. The teachers of the schools are among those reported year by year as being converted and uniting with the church. Indeed, so marked is this fact that it might almost seem as if the chief good of the Sabbath-school was not to the pupils but to the teachers. To teach in these schools seems to have been a special means of grace in leading the instructors to Christ. The gains to the church were not in those early years so noticeable from among the pupils as from among the teachers.

The Sunday-school became very popular, so that the families of the church began to send their own children to it, and gradually its character became changed. It was no longer for indigent boys and girls. These were after some years formed into mission schools. The church had such a school, in 1827, in Prince Street, under the care of Mr. Moses Pond, and another, in 1829, in Henchman's Lane. The character of the teaching also changed after the first year or two, so that distinctly religious teaching became more and more prominent. The catechism was taught, and portions of the Bible were committed to memory. Spelling and reading were however taught for many years to those who came into the school and were unable to read the Bible. The first infant Sunday-school, so far as known, in this or any other

country, was established in 1829 in our meeting-house, then at the corner of Hanover and Union Streets. The following extracts from a letter written by Mr. Henry J. Howland, in 1896, give an account of it:

My sister, who was a teacher in Brookfield, saw a notice of a meeting of an Infant School Society in Boston, which supported a school for the care of young children of parents who were obliged



THE FIRST INFANT SUNDAY-SCHOOL—ESTABLISHED IN 1829.

to be away from home at their work; she was quite interested in the account and requested me to find out about it. I was an apprentice, sixteen or seventeen years old. I obtained leave of absence for half a day and visited the school on Bedford Street, taught by a Miss Blood, and saw and heard enough to satisfy me that the religious part of the exercises there—Scripture and other lessons, illustrated by pictures, marching, singing hymns, etc.—could be usefully adapted for a number of small children who frequented the Sabbath-school of the First Baptist Church, but who had no place in any of the classes. So I borrowed some of the pictures from Miss



Blood and showed them, with an explanation of their use, at a meeting of our teachers, proposing that an infant class should be formed for the small children not otherwise provided for in our school, using such part of Miss Blood's exercises as might be adapted to our purposes. I also suggested that one of our lady teachers should take charge of the school.

It was at once voted that such a class should be formed, and that I should be the teacher, with the addition—when I suggested that a lady would be better suited for the position—that I might select such an assistant as I thought best.

So I bought a few of the pictures such as Miss Blood used, and wrote out the questions and answers for two or three of them, selected some hymns such as I thought would answer, and the next Sabbath noon I marched, with some six or eight small boys and girls, who had not been in any class, to the gallery over the choir gallery of the First Baptist Meeting-house (which then stood at the corner of Union and Hanover Streets), where we commenced the first infant Sabbath School in 1829.

The instruction was wholly oral, the scholars repeating the answers and hymns after the teacher until they learned them, and they soon learned to sing the verses. After a short time the class was moved to a committee room on the lower floor, and before long I succeeded in securing the assistance of Miss Isabelle Ayres, who soon proved my statement at the commencement, that a lady, if competent, is much the best adapted to manage and instruct young children.

Mr. Howland died in 1897, in Worcester, Mass., and during his long life had kept close connection with Sunday-schools, and especially with primary work. He did not suspect that he was doing a work which was to have so far-reaching consequences, and to be productive of so vast an amount of good. To this church belongs the honor of having the first primary Sunday-school, so far as is known, in the world.

In 1836 Miss Sarah Mossman was in charge of it,

and the report says: "The infant school under the care of Miss Sarah Mossman is in a flourishing state: whole number sixty: average attendance thirty: it is very pleasing to hear infant lips, lisping prayer and praise to their king."

I cannot learn when women were allowed to teach



HENRY J. HOWLAND.

boys. Miss Ayres, who took the infant class in place of Mr. Howland, about 1831, may have been the first. The two schools seem to have been merged into one early in the pastorate of Dr. Neale, but the date is unknown. The first list of male and female teachers recorded together as if they might have been in one school is in 1842. The total enrollment in 1834 was one hundred and thirty-three. In 1839 it was two

hundred and twenty. The Sunday-school of this church has never been large, but why this is so is not easy to discover. It has had a most faithful company of officers and teachers, and its work has been exceedingly useful.

In 1876, Deacon Thomas P. Foster died. He had been connected with the Sunday-school about fifty years, thirteen of them as superintendent and the remainder as teacher. This is an unequaled record in our annals. In 1877 the school had grown very small and shared with the church its sad decline. It removed to Shawmut Avenue upon the union of the two churches, and reported that "fifteen teachers and seventy-one scholars" went with it to the new location. The union of the two schools made a large enrollment of teachers and scholars, but this was much reduced by the removal to the present meeting-house on Commonwealth Avenue. The school reported January 1, 1899, twenty-eight officers and teachers, and three hundred and four scholars. For many years all secular studies have been abolished from the Sunday-school and the Bible has been the only text-book studied. The session is an hour and a quarter in length and is held before the morning worship. The exercises consist of singing, prayer, the lesson, remarks by the pastor or superintendent, and reports, singing, and closing with the Lord's Prayer.

There were no superintendents until 1826.

LIST OF SUPERINTENDENTS.

William Manning, Jr., 1826–1828.
George S. Goddard, 1828–1831.

Deacon James Loring, 1831–1833.
John N. Barbour, 1833–1834.
Thomas P. Foster, 1834–1845.
Edward J. Long, 1845–1846.
Thomas P. Foster, 1846–1848.
Cyrus Carpenter, 1848–1856.
Humphrey Jameson, 1856–1858.
Cyrus Carpenter, 1858–1868.
S. M. Tourtellot, 1868–1870.
George E. Learnard, 1871–1877.
Wm. G. Harris, 1877–1879.
E. M. White, 1879–1881.
John K. Simpson, 1881–1883.
A. S. Woodworth, 1883–1884.
Irving O. Whiting, 1884–1885.
H. G. Woodworth, 1885–1887.
Irving O. Whiting, 1887–1892.
Frank D. Allen, 1892–1894.
Arthur C. Badger, 1894–1898.
George F. D. Paine, 1898.

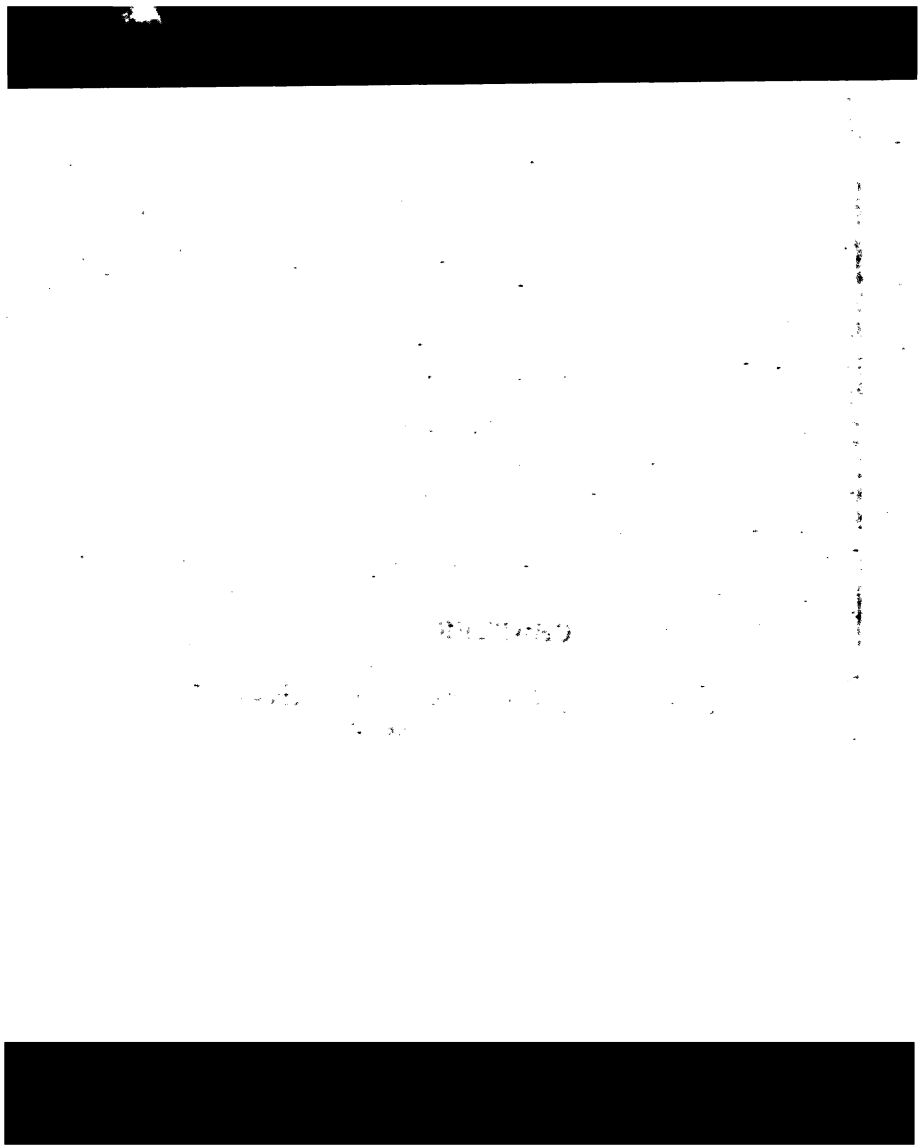
The first women's society of which I have found any record was organized March 12, 1841, with twenty-nine members. It was called the Ladies' Sewing Circle. Two years later its name was changed to the Ladies' Mission Circle. In 1857 it had grown to a membership of one hundred and fifty. Its object was to provide garments for the poor, to disburse money to various worthy enterprises at home and abroad, and to promote social acquaintance among the women of the church. They assisted students at Newton, gave aid to missionaries, both home and



foreign, contributed to the Bethel and to many charities of the city. During the Civil War they contributed largely in aid of the sick and wounded soldiers, and were the steadfast helpers of the United States Sanitary Commission. In January, 1865, they report a most enthusiastic meeting, when Captain Edward J. Jones, an officer in the army of the Union and a member of the church, was welcomed home with every demonstration of affection and delight. They met in private houses until they outgrew such accommodations, when they met in the vestry of the meeting-house. Their gatherings were warmly social, and filled the place of the present church social. In May, 1877, upon the union of the Shawmut Avenue Church with this church, the society disbanded, and the women of the united church organized a Ladies' Benevolent Circle, but on Nov. 10, 1877, the Woman's Foreign Mission Circle was organized to do a distinct work. Separate societies were maintained until Nov. 10, 1887, when all the work was consolidated under one organization, the Woman's Benevolent and Missionary Society. This organization contributes for home and foreign missions, provides garments for the poor, and takes charge of the social gatherings of the church. This church has been greatly blessed in the fine company of its intelligent, active, and noble Christian women.

CHAPTER XVI

PASTORS. DEACONS. BEQUESTS. RECORDS. SEXTONS. MUSIC. MEETINGS.

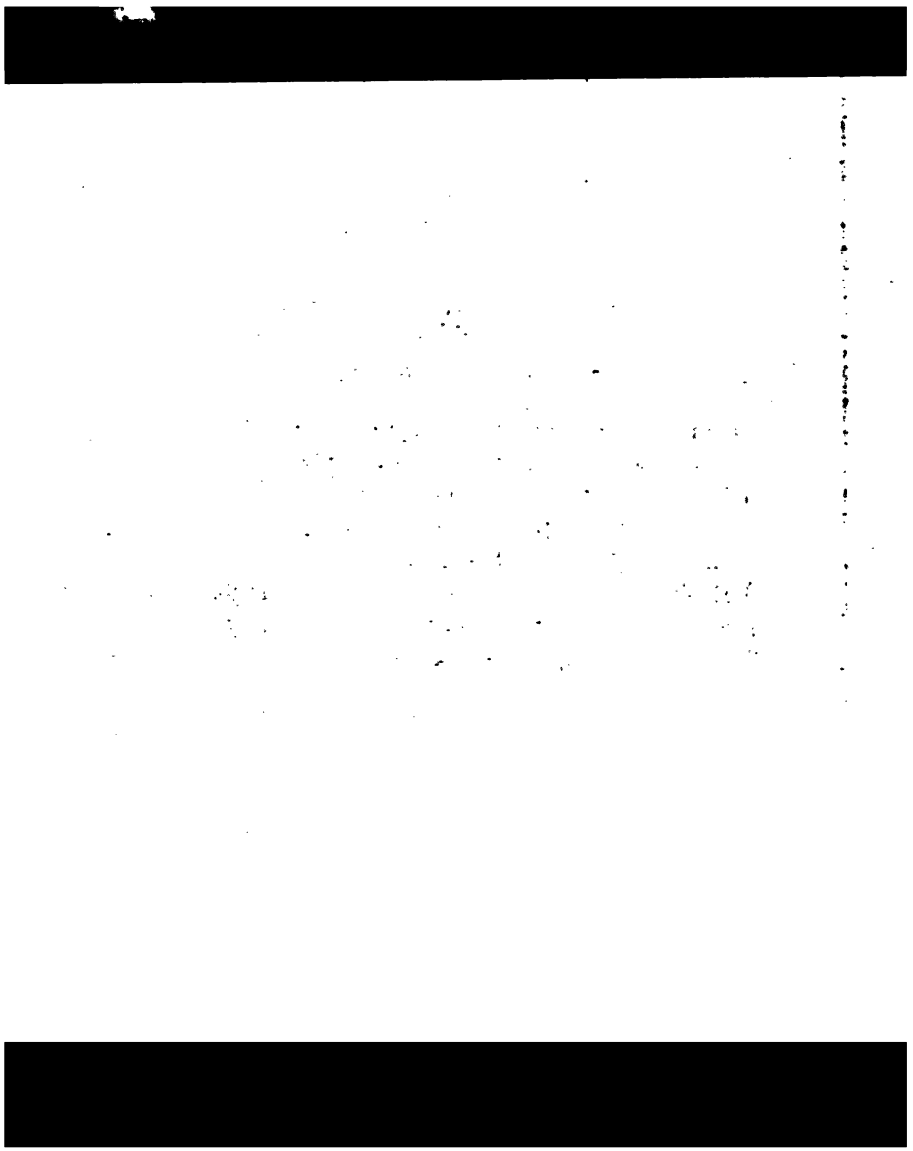


XVI

PASTORS OF THE CHURCH

Thomas Goold, June, 1665, died Oct., 1675.
John Russell, July, 1679, died Dec., 1680.
Isaac Hull, 1681, died 1699.
John Emblem, July, 1684, resigned 1699.
Ellis Callender, 1708, died 1726.
Elisha Callender, May, 1718, died Jan., 1738.
Jeremiah Condy, Dec., 1738, resigned July, 1764.
Samuel Stillman, D. D., Sept., 1764, died Mar., 1807.
Joseph Clay, June, 1807, resigned Oct., 1809.
James M. Winchell, March, 1814, died Feb., 1820.
Francis Wayland, Jr., June, 1821, resigned Aug., 1826.
Cyrus P. Grosvenor, Jan., 1827, resigned Sept., 1830.
William Hague, Feb., 1831, resigned June, 1837.
Rollin H. Neale, D. D., Sept., 1837, resigned June, 1877.
Cephas B. Crane, D. D., April, 1878, resigned Oct., 1884.
Philip S. Moxom, D. D., Aug., 1885, resigned Dec., 1893.
Nathan E. Wood, D. D., Sept., 1894.

There have been sixteen pastors of the church prior to the present pastor, and the average length of their pastorates has been about fifteen years.



LIST OF DEACONS.

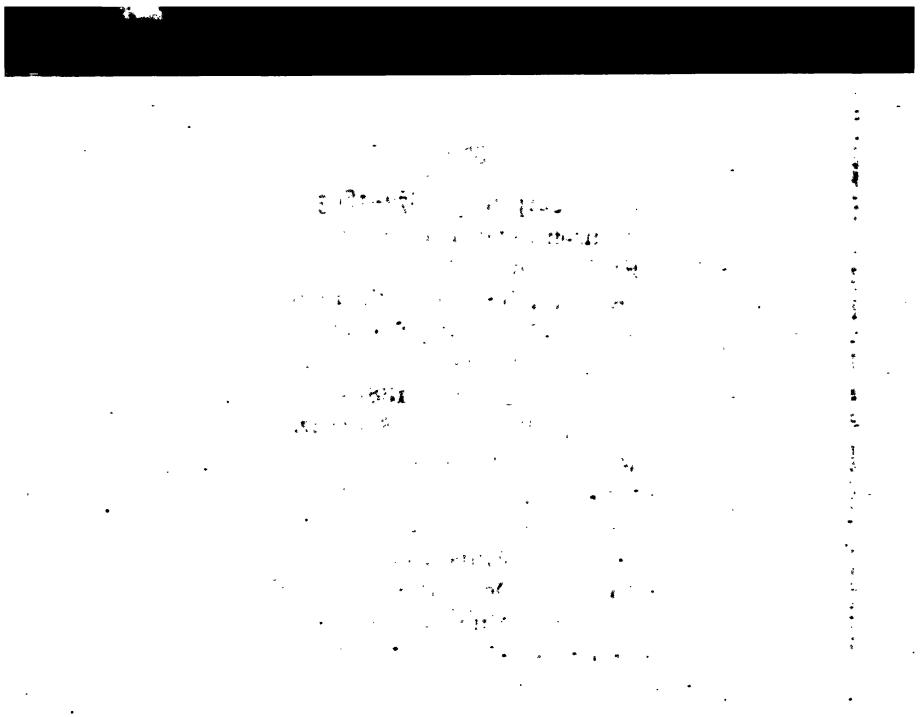
Thomas Skinner, 1670–1690.
Edward Drinker, 1670–1685.
Benjamin Sweetser, 1688–1691.
Richard Proctor, 1718–1719.
Benjamin Hiller, 1718–1728.
Josiah Byles, 1720–1753.
Shem Drowne, 1721–1774.
Skinner Russell, 1751–1753.
Joseph Hiller, Jr., 1753–1758.
John Bulfinch, 1759–1772.
Nathan Hancock, 1759–1782.
Philip Freeman, 1779–1789.
Richard Gridley, 1779–1798.
Daniel Wild, 1787–1805.
William Capen, 1790–1818.
John Waite, 1801–1811.
Prince Snow, Jr., 1807–1827.
James Loring, 1807–1827.
John Sullivan, 1825–1846.
Joseph Urann, 1828–1864.
Moses Pond, 1831–1840.
John Spence, 1835–1840.
Simon G. Shipley, 1838–1852.
Thomas Richardson, 1840–1869.
Thomas P. Foster, 1845–1876.
Abijah Patch, 1852–1866.
J. Q. A. Litchfield, 1861–1887.
Charles A. Turner, 1861–1875.
Samuel L. Tourtellot, 1867–1878.
Alfred Haskell, 1867–1878.

Cyrus Carpenter, 1872–1893.
Addison Boyden, 1872–1874.
Elisha James, 1877–
Dwight Wheelock, 1877–1879.
Samuel S. Cudworth, 1877–1882.
James W. Converse, 1879–1894.
Daniel C. Linscott, 1885–
John A. Bowman, 1886–1892.
Rest F. Curtis, 1889–
George F. D. Paine, 1889–
Edward M. Hoyt, 1892–1894.
Henry L. Millis, 1892–1894.
Frank H. Dean, 1893–
Alfred D. Flinn, 1896–
Henry S. Parsons, 1897–

There have been forty-five deacons, of whom twelve are still living. Four deacons have served in this office more than thirty years each, viz, Shem Drowne, fifty-three years; Josiah Byles, thirty-three years; Joseph Urann, thirty-six years; and Thomas P. Foster, thirty-one years. The membership of the church in 1899 is about six hundred and thirty.

OUR MEETING-HOUSES.

First meeting-house (wood) 1679, Salem and Stillman Streets.
Second meeting-house (wood) 1771, on the same site.
Third meeting-house (brick) 1829, Hanover and Union Streets.
Fourth meeting-house (brick) 1854, Somerset Street.
Fifth meeting-house (stone) 1877, Shawmut Avenue and Rutland Street.



Sixth meeting-house (stone) 1882, Commonwealth Avenue and Clarendon Street.

BEQUESTS AND GIFTS TO THE CHURCH.

1721 Thomas and John Hollis, of London, for repairing the meeting-house and to make conveniences for baptizing . . . . . £135 2s.

1714 One cup, marked "*Ex dono* J. & M. Russell, 1714."

1714 One cup, marked "*Ex dono* Mary Russell to ye Church."

1727 One cup, marked "The gift of W^m^ Snell to ye Baptist Church in Boston. 1727."

One spoon, marked "W^m^ Snell. 1727."

1729 One cup, marked "F—I. F." Sept. 7, 1729, the gift of John Foreland, in memory of his wife.

1730 Mr. Fisk, of Wenham £5

1752 Josiah Byles, per annum . . . . . 13s. 6d.

1753 Edward Richardson £4

1764 Mrs. Jennings . . . . . £1 18s.

1765 Elizabeth Vose £60

1777 Shem Drowne . . . . . £6 13s. 4d.

1785 Mrs. Vose, half of annual income of estate in Gloucester.

1787 Cup, marked "The gift of Mrs. Sarah Jeffers."

1792 Jonathan Harris, two flagons for communion table.

1792 Mrs. Avis Brown, for Ministers' Widows' Fund £50

1793 William White and Jonas Welsh, two goblets and two dishes for communion table (not marked).

Unknown Date

Goblet, marked "*Ex dono*, R. K." (No record.)

Goblet, marked "*Ex dono*, S. C. Tistm, A. D., per T. A." (No record.)

1819 Mrs. Lydia Sparhawk Fund, interest only for poor of church $1,000

Also fund for Sunday-school, interest only to be used 500

Also to Rev. J. M. Winchell, the pastor 1,500

1828 Mrs. Anna Conant, to be added to Sparhawk Fund 25

1841 Mrs. Nancy Adams Fund, interest only for poor 200

1852 Deacon S. G. Shipley Fund, interest only for poor 1,000

1854 Mrs. Prudence C. Loring, widow of Deacon J. Loring, three goblets for communion table.

1854 Mrs. Lucy Snow, widow of Deacon Prince Snow, Jr., three goblets for communion table.

1869 Thomas Richardson Fund, to be invested for the benefit of the church 500

1872 Rufus Mossman Fund, interest only for the poor of the church ("Betsy Mossman Fund") 500

[redacted]

1874	John Newhall, to the church ("Newhall Fund")	$2,581
	Also to the Sunday-school ("Newhall Fund")	645
1875	Isaac Butterfield Fund, interest only for the poor of the church	500
1876	Thomas P. Foster Fund, interest only for the poor of the church	500
1877	Mrs. Eliza Smith Fund, interest only for the poor of the church	500
1880	Hannah F. Plummer Fund, interest only for the poor of the church	100
1882	Salmon Whitney Fund, interest only for the poor of the church	200
1895	William H. Learnard Fund, interest only for the poor of the church	1,000
	Also fund for Sunday-school, interest only to be used	1,000
	Also fund for church music, interest only to be used	1,000

These numerous gifts are still doing their beneficent service in the work of the church, and keep green the memory of men and women whose names otherwise might be almost forgotten. These bequests are evidence of the ardent love which these members have had toward this church, and happily bind our past and our present together in a unity of usefulness.

The records of the church were always kept by the ministers until 1809, when Deacon James Loring became church clerk. In 1827 Mr. Grosvenor revived the old custom and acted as clerk throughout his

pastorate, but he was the last pastor to act in this office. Mr. William H. Brewer was clerk from 1853 to 1870, and Mr. George A. Bartlett from 1870 to 1875. Mr. William H. Foster from November, 1875, to the present time has served with great fidelity.

It is difficult to learn much about the men who have served as sextons. Ichabod Williston was "the saxton" in 1772, and "his salary was two shillings per week lawful money." It is safe to conclude that he did some other work also for a living. The Boston Town Records have this item, June 9, 1777: "That Mr Newman, sexton of Mr Stillmans meeting, be directed to ring the bell of Christ church at 1 o'clock and at 9 at night." This is supposed to be Robert Newman who hung the lantern out of the steeple of Christ Church to give Paul Revere warning as to which way the British troops had gone on that memorable night in April, 1775. He seems to have been "sexton of our meeting house" for some time after the evacuation of Boston. Christ Church was closed for about three years, while our meeting-house, which was two blocks distant, was opened promptly after the British withdrawal. His length of service with us is unknown. Father Winslow, who resigned in 1834, was sexton for more than thirty years. He was very ceremonious and always preceded the minister up the aisle and held the pulpit door open for him to enter. He retained all the quaint dress of the colonial time, and was an odd character. He was the terror of the children, who had a notion that he haunted the meeting-house like a ghost at night, and who looked upon him in general as a man to be



shunned and feared. The sexton's salary in 1815 was one hundred and twenty dollars per year. The present sexton, Benjamin R. Chase, began Oct. 1, 1873, and has been a model officer in his position. His salary is one thousand dollars.

The music of the church in public worship has through the most of its history been conducted by volunteer singers and without compensation. In the second decade of this century a very small salary was paid to the leader of the choir, and the custom then inaugurated has been enlarged until the present time when all the members of the choir and the organist are paid suitable salaries. The music is now provided by an organist and a quartette of singers. The congregation joins in hymn singing. The church now maintains two weekly meetings for Christian conference and prayer, the young people's meeting and the general prayer and conference meeting. Men and women are equally at liberty to take part in these meetings. The exercises consist of an exposition of some passage of Scripture by the pastor or leader, and of voluntary prayer, exhortation, and singing by the members. There is also a monthly meeting devoted wholly to social purposes. There are two services for public worship and preaching on Sunday, at 11 A. M. and 7.30 P. M. "BEHOLD HE THAT KEEPETH ISRAEL SHALL NEITHER SLUMBER NOR SLEEP."

INDEX

Allen, John, 77.
Andros, Sir Edmund, 185, 224.
Arlington, church formed, 272.
Armitage, Thomas, 346.
Association, Warren: organized, 255; meets in Boston, 284; church withdraws from, 322.

Backes, Stiving, 90.
Baker, Stephen, 70, 84, 100.
Baldwin, Thomas, salary of, 245, 284.
Baptism: referred to, 17; form of, 60, 76; place of, 211; conveniences, 221.
Baptists, statutes against, 10.
Baptistery: first, 263; new, 327.
Barny, Jacob, 56.
Barrett, James, 70.
Bartholdi, sculptor, 343.
Baxter, "Baptized in Blood," 111.
Beckley, J. T., associate pastor, 337.
Beecher, Lyman, 327.
Bellingham, Governor, 78, 110.
Bellingham, Baptists at, 238.
Benevolences, organized, 331.
Bequests, list of, 370.
Bill of Rights, adopted by Massachusetts, 230.
Billerica: mentioned, 60; Baptists in, 100, 129.
Boiles, Lucius, 294.
Bowers, Benanuel, 70, 84, 100, 108 seq.
Bound, Ephraim, ordained, 242.
Bound, James, protest, 240.
Brattle Square Church, 241.
Brimfield, Baptists at, 240.
Broaddus, Andrew, 305.
Brooks, Timothy, 129.
Brown, Avis, gift of widows' fund by, 275.
Brown University, charter of, 284.
Brown, S. N., 341.
Bunker, Jonathan, 84.
Byles, Josias, deacon, 284.

Callender, Ellis: mentioned, 57, 136; pastor, 195.
Callender, Elisha: ordained, 201; refused appointment as overseer of Harvard, 207; visits Springfield, 215; death of, 226.
Callender, John, pastor in Newport, 212, 221, 228, 233, 239.
Cambridge Jail, 104.
Catechism, 283.
Charlestown: discipline by First Church, 34; constable's warrants, 70; Baptist church established, 286.
Chauncy, Charles, 61.
Churchwood, Humphrey, 179.
Clarke, John, 14-17, 59, 62, 93.
Clay, Joseph: called, 298-302; death of, 304.
Clerks, list of church, 372.
Cobbett, Thomas, 77, 173.
Cole, Isaac, 129.
Colman, Benjamin, 220.
Comer, John, 212.
Committee, standing, 240.
Condy, Jeremiah: called, 283; resigned, 263.
Confession of Faith, 65, 348.
Convention, Federalist, 277.
Cotton, John, 18, 19, 36.
Covenant, oldest church, 182.
Crandall, John, 14.
Crane, C. B.: called, 340; resigns, 344.
Cushman, R. W., 338.

Danforth, Samuel, 77.
Deacons, list of, 368.
Dexter, H. M., 19.
Dingley, Richard, 192.
Discipline, 270.
Disputation, public in Boston, 76.
Dissent, method of, 75.
Dissenters, 57.
Dover, N. H., Baptists in, 7-9.



Drinker, Edward, 56, 68, 90-98, 121, 154, 167, 187, 192.
Drowne, Shem, deacon, 204.
Dunster, Henry, 23-29, 33, 59.

Earle, A. B., in revival, 336.
Education Society formed, 279.
Edwards, Morgan, 19.
Eliot, John, 64.
Elliott, Joseph, 310.
Elm Hill Church, organised, 348.
Emblem, John, pastor, 191
Endicott, Governor, 16.
Episcopalians: mentioned, 126, 131; in Boston, 184.
Evans, P. S., 338.

Farlow, Caleb, 129.
Farlowe, George, 56, 100, 107, 122.
Farnum, John, 56, 81, 88, 160, 188.
Foreland, John, legacy, 220.
Foskett, John, 70.
Foster, Benjamin, baptised and ordained, 267.
Foster, Hopestill, 129.
Foster, Thomas: mentioned, 57, 160. 167, 129, 159; re-baptised, 60.
Foster, Thomas P., 362.
Foster, W. H., 373.
Freeman, Philip, at Warren Association, 257.

Gair, Thomas, ordained, 269.
Galusha, Elon, 305, 310.
George, John, 56, 58, 68.
Goodall, Mary, 56.
Goodall, Richard, 56.
Goold, James, 70.
Goold, Mary, 63.
Goold, Thomas: mentioned. 29-36: discipline of. 39-51; other mention of. 55, 56, 66, 70-99, 109, 122, 154.
Grafton, Joseph, ordained, 274.
Greenliefe, Enoch, 84, 100.
Grosvenor, C. P., pastor, 321-328.

Hague, William, pastor, 329, 330, 368.
Hamlitt, William, 57, 100, 104, 107, 121.
Hancock, John, 344.
Harris, Jonathan, gift, 281.
Haverhill, church founded in, 251.
Higginson, John, 77.
Hillar, Benjamin, deacon, 204.
Hiscox, William, 78, 108, 121.
Holden, Oliver, author of "Coronation," 279.
Hollis, Thomas: gift to Harvard College. 206: gift to church. 208-210.
Holmes, Obadiah, 14-20, 33, 84.
Hoare, John, 100.
Howard, Nathaniel, 90.
Howland, H. J., 361.
Hoyt, Wayland, 339.
Hubbard, Samuel, 78, 121.
Hull, Isaac, pastor, 56, 132-134, 178, 188.
Hull, Captain, diary of, 80, 107.

Jackson, Andrew, President, 320.
Jeffs, John, 129.
Jenckes, Governor, 19.
Johnson, John, 75, 90, 100, 102, 129.
Johnson, Matthew, 129.

Kendall, Francis, 129.
King's Chapel, 185.
Kittery, church at, 179 *seq.*
Knapp, Jacob, in revival, 332.
Knollys, Hansard, 7, 151.

Lambert, Robert, 56, 88.
Leethy, Robert, 70.
Lecture, monthly, 236.
Leverett, Governor, 110.
Liberty, religious, 35, 63.
Lighting, meeting-house, 264.
Lord's Supper, 136.
Lorimer, G. C., 339.
Loring, James, elected clerk, 304, 312. 316, 320.
Lynn, Baptists in, 14.

Manning, James, 254.
Mansall, Thomas, 70.
Marshfield, Baptists in, 221.
Massachusetts State Convention, organized, 292.
Mather, Cotton, 28, 88, 196, 202.
Mather, Increase, 36, 88, 125, 147, 148. 168, 185, 197, 202.
Meeting-house: first, 136; nailed up. 136-141; enlarged, 211; law against building, 141; repaired, 251; new. 261; dedicated, 265; used as barracks and hospital, 288; reopened, 289; enlarged, 279; warming of, 293; third, 325; old, moved to South Boston, 326; fourth, 334; fifth, 338; sixth, 341; list of every, of the First Church, 369; Old North, 249; New Brick, offered, 262.
Ministry, an educated, 170.
Missionary Contribution, 347.
Missionary Magazine, 292.
Missionary Organization, 289.
Mitchell, Jonathan, 36, 77, 79.
Money depreciated, 273.
Moody, Lady, 8.
Moulton, Ebenezer, ordained, 240.
Moxom, P. S.: called, 345; resigns, 346.
Murray, John, founder of Universalism, 271.
Music, 374.
Myles, John, 13, 59, 124, 130.
Myles, Samuel, rector of King's Chapel, 126.

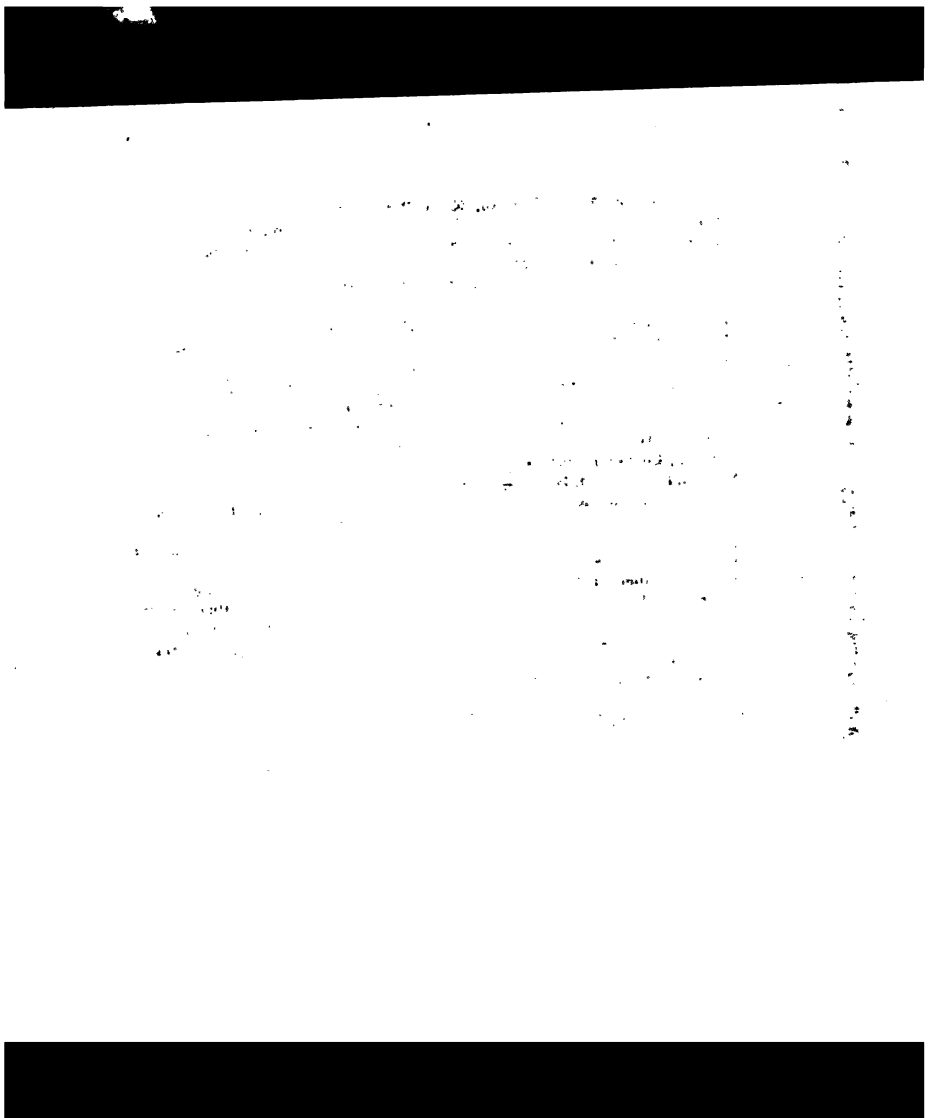
Neale, R. H.: called, 331; resigns, 339. portrait, 340.
Negro Baptists, 267.
Nevers, Richard, 75.
Newell, Mary, 56, 58, 70.
Newberry, church at, 56, 178.
Newport Church, vi., 8, 99, 108, 212.
Newton Church, 274.
Newton Theological Institution. founded, 317.
Noddles' Island, 64, 70, 89, 96, 121.
Nott, Eliphalet, 312.
Nuell, Jonathan, 90.

Old South Church: mentioned, 184; revived, 295; prayer meeting established, 296.
Olney, Thomas, pastor in Providence. 60, 154.
Oppression, by standing order, 258, 280.
Osborne, Thomas, 40, 57, 68, 70, 84, 108, 122, 129, 136.

Painter, Thomas, 8.
Parker, J. W., 338.
Parsons, Edmund, founds "Refuge," 308.
Pastors, list of, 367.
Paul, Thomas, ordained, 267, 297.
Pearce, John, 129.
Petition: from Roxbury and Dorchester, 12; for clemency to prisoners, 85.
Pierce, Robert, 129.
Plymouth, 12, 13, 60.
Polly, George, 75.
Poor, collection for, 208.
Prayer meeting, established, 281.
Proctor, John, protest of, 240.
Proctor, Richard, deacon, 204.
Providence Church, vi., 6.
Pump, in meeting-house yard, 264.

Raynor, Stephen, 70.
Revival, great, 295.
Revolution, American, begun, 268.
Roots, P. P., 281.
Roxbury, First Church of record, 64, 79.
Russell, John, Jr.: mentioned, 56, 78, 100 *seq.*, 123, 129, 133; ordination, 132; narrative of, 149 *seq.*; death of, 177.
Russell, John, Sen., 57, 90, 94, 100 *seq.*, 123.

Sailors, 260.
Salem Church, 4, 15.
Salem Street, 136.
Scituate, church in, 28, 61.
Screven, William, 179, 183, 195.
Scriptures, reading, in church, 219.
Sextons, 373.
Shawmut Avenue Church, unites, 338.
Shipley, Mrs. S. G., 336.
Shrimpton, Henry, 70.
Simpson, J. K., 330.
Singing: in public worship, 218 *seq.*: lining out for, 242; of Watts' hymns, 266; assisted by instruments, 307; Winchell's Watts used, 309, 374.
Skinner, Thomas, 57, 132, 192.
Slavery, African, 333.
Smallpox, in Boston, 168.
Smith, Hezekiah, 251.
Smith, Matthew, 129.
Sparhawk, bequests, 308.
Springfield: work there, 213; church organized, 220.
Spur, John, 9, 19.
Squire, Philip, 136.
Starbuck, Edward, 9.
Stillman Street, 142.



Stillman, Samuel: called, 244; salary, 245; installed, 247; fellow of Brown, 254; in Philadelphia, 268; annual sermon of, 272; forms education society, 279; forms missionary society, 289; death, 298.
Stoddard, Solomon, 125.
Stow, Baron, 320.
Sullivan, John, 320.
Sunday-school: organized, 308; history of, 358 *seq.*; missions, 358; primary, 359; superintendent of, 362.
Stuart, Moses, 311.
Sutton: baptisms at, 217; formation of church at, 222, 228.
Swansea: church in, vi., 18, 124, 132; aggrieved, 235.
Sweetser, Benj., 56, 66, 98, 99, 198.

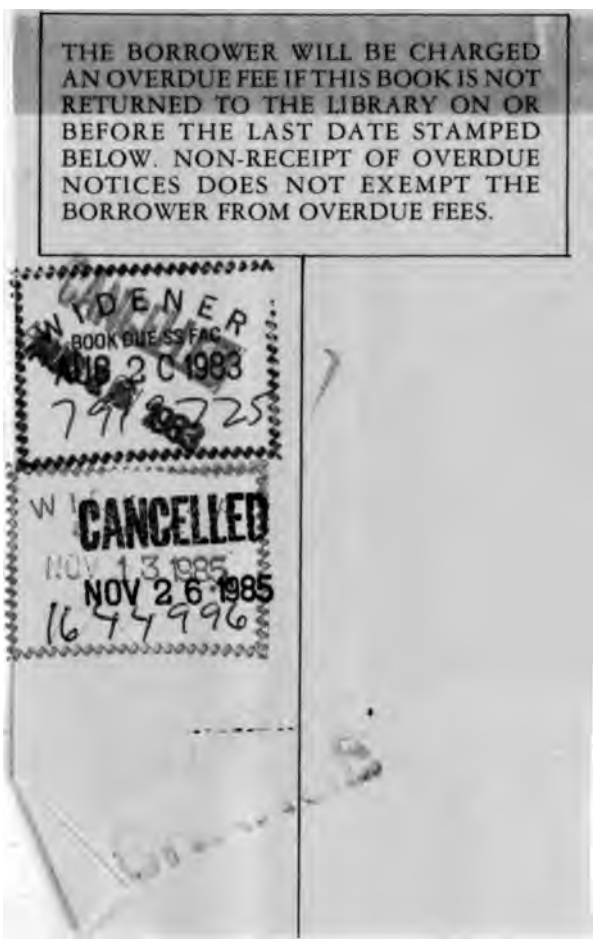
Taxation of Baptists, 224 *seq.*
Thrumbes, John, 70.
Torry, Joseph, 57.
Turner, William, 92, 109, 56, 58, 66, 81, 89, 127, 167.

Universalists, offer meeting-house, 270.
Upham, Edward, 217, 228.

War, Civil, 333.
"Watchman," founded, 312.
Wayland, Francis, Jr.: called, 310; editor, 316; professor, 318; resigns, 319; portrait, 320.
Whitfield, George, and New Lights movement, 237.
Whiting, I. O., 341.
Wickenden, William, 8.
Willard, Samuel, 36, 166, 185.
Williams, John, 109.
Williams, Roger, 4, 60.
Wilson, John, 128, 129.
Wiman, Francis, 128.
Winchell, J. M.: called, 306; discourses, 306; death, 308.
Winslow, Gov., 10.
Witter, William, 9, 14.
Woburn, Baptists in, 100, 129.
Women: in case of discipline, 272; benevolent work of, 336.
Wood, John, 9.
Wood, Nathan E., called, 348.
Wright, Joseph, 128.






THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.

WIDENER
BOOK DUE AS FAC
AUG 20 1983
CANCELLED
NOV 13 1985
NOV 26 1985

